The Angels Are White —*Reese Cleghorn*

THE NEW REPUBLIC

August 17, 1963, 35 cents

The Road Back to China

Cyrus H. Peake

Bertrand Russell Bewitched

John Mander

Gold, Golding, Gilt

Stanley Kauffmann

Bubbles, Bubbles

Murray Kempton

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

T.R.B. *from* Sauk Center

And There He Stood . . .

★ It is good to leave Washington now and then, to see if America is still there.

The Midwest begins where the barns advertise "Mail Pouch Chewing Tobacco." In Ohio, the Sohio Co. suddenly advertises a mysterious ingredient, "boron," without which no gasoline is adequate. Its magical properties begin and end suddenly with the state line.

Our pilgrimage began with a visit to the tomb of the 29th President, a structure hitherto unvisited by TRB, though his working life might be said to have started in that reign and to have been involved in it, retrospectively, since.

How well TRB remembers his first White House press conference! Perhaps he has told it before: the sacred precincts, the circular study, the handsome, genial President, the crowd of irreverent reporters. The young reporter hardly knew which way to look, so awed was he by the juxtaposition to Greatness, and so embarrassed by the uncouth behavior of his impertinent companions. And there He stood, in plus fours, looking more like a President than any President has a right to look, massive, amiable, endearing. "Now boys," he kept pleading, "I have a date at Burning Tree."

The boys in the smoke-filled room decided that any fool with good looks could beat Idealism and Internationalism, and gave us Harding and Congressional government. What a time for TRB to start journalism!

Here is the home – a great, charming 1900-style house with spacious veranda from which came the "front porch campaign," and "normalcy." The porch has a tessellated tile floor, something TRB never knew till now (for travel broadens), beginning to crack. The memorial is a circular colonnade of fluted Greek columns, a solemn roofless, rather poignant thing. Inside – "Nov. 2, 1865-Aug. 2, 1923," and Florence Kling Harding beside him, who died a year later; hardly time enough to understand the widening circle of scandal.

Let us say it quickly, and be done with it: Harding represented the sentimental optimism which is so deeply a part of the American character. He symbolized the belief that things are slowly improving and will come out all right anyway, no matter what we do; that the important thing is to be hopeful, amiable and friendly; that we are immune from disasters of other countries because we are self-reliant, divinely appointed, hate Socialism, and stamp our coins, "In God We Trust."

The car needed gas and, in the fitness of things, the station almost immediately next to the Harding home is "Sinclair." It is a little private phobia of our own, but that is one gas we have never willingly bought from Teapot Dome till now, though it was useless to explain to our sub-freshman daughter.

Willkie's Brief Hour

★ Bowling across Indiana we noticed here and there a stand of splendid trees like that to which Wendell Willkie once walked a group of reporters; a little clump on neighbor's land that he said had never been cut since the great forest ran from Blue Ridge to prairie. Willkie understood our heritage, and was moving onward then to his brief hour of history: the deliberately packed audience at Philadelphia that stamped "We Want Willkie," and thwarted Taft's careful plans.

Willkie represented the Teutonic infusion; we noted at a quiet graveyard at Two Rivers, Wisconsin, the *"Ei ruhe in Frieden"* still carved, as late as 1910, in cemeteries in the states they helped to settle.

We planned a visit to Appleton, Wisconsin, as we headed northwest; a visit that had seemed rather funny at the outset. But it turned sour and we couldn't carry it through. We had a fascinated curiosity in the tomb of the late Senator McCarthy. But the first natives were unfamiliar with him or his monument, and there were no memorial postcards at the chain drugstore (an important folk symbol). It seemed best to let it pass.

Little Change in Temperature

★ So now we write this, looking out of a $3 front room of the Palmer House, on Main Street. Outside is the two story First National Bank, with a clock sounding tinny quarter hours, dominating the other buildings. There go Dodsworth and Babbitt for this is Sauk Center, Minnesota. Main Street was always there, but Red Lewis looked out and saw it the first time.

The radio quotes Chicago produce prices, and the brand that will do most for your cows in the lactation period. The macadam street is wide, with an intermittent white line, and the lonely little prairie town is much the same as when Sinclair Lewis knew it, except the cars are longer and there are parking meters. The brick buildings, the iron winters, the people are the same. But they regard Lewis affectionately now (since he is dead), a drawing card for the Chamber of Commerce.

It is fortunate, isn't it, that all the ills Lewis attacked have been cured and we no longer need his strident immortal genius and bad taste. Or do we?

Driving into Sauk Center at 9:30 last night we listened to a CBS world news round-up from famous reporters from far capitals as the sun sank, and tree shadows stretched half a mile across the prairie, and cloud streamers swept tremendously over a vast sky. "And now," said a station announcer, "we will offer you this public service program, the H. L. Hunt 'Life Line' report."

It was pure poison. In a bored, sophisticated voice, as of one merely recounting what everybody already knew, the spokesman told how the State Department is negotiating to disarm America and put our depleted forces under the 120 countries of the UN, dominated by Moscow. And so on.

It was lethal as polio, contagious as small pox, and it would infect many of its innocent hearers. It is being injected, tax-free, nightly, into the body politic. Yes, Red – the sky, the people, Main Street, are about the same! Not much change in them, or in what they are getting.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

THE NEW REPUBLIC *A Journal of Opinion Volume 149 Number 7-8 Issue 2543-44 August 17-24, 1963*
Published weekly (except July and August when it is biweekly) and distributed by The New Republic, *1244 19th St., N.W., Washington 36, D. C. Phone FEderal 8-2494. Single copy 35c. Yearly subscription, $8.00; Foreign, $9.00, Armed Forces personnel or students, $5.00. Advertising rates upon request. Subscribers desiring change of address should notify us at least three weeks in advance. Include old and new address.* *Copyright© 1963 by Harrison-Blaine, Inc.* *Item g. Second Class Postage Paid at Washington, D. C. Indexed in* Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature.

Dropouts and the Draft

THE WEEK

3. Dropouts and the Draft; Balance of Payments – II; Those Pesticides; Foreign Reports

ARTICLES

9. Blushing James Bond
by Alastair Burnet

10. The Road Back to Mainland China
by Cyrus H. Peake

12. The Angels Are White
by Reese Cleghorn

15. Bubbles, Bubbles
by Murray Kempton

DEPARTMENTS

17. Books 27. Films 28. Records

30. Correspondence

THE STAFF

Editor-in-Chief – Gilbert A. Harrison
Publisher – Robert B. Luce
Editors – Christopher Jencks, Robert Evett
Murray Kempton
Associate Editor – James Ridgeway
Circulation Manager – Bertha Lehman
Assistant to the Publisher – F. R. Ruskin
Business Manager – Glenon Matthiesen
Copy Editor – Lucille Davis

Contributing Editors: Alexander M. Bickel
Robert Brustein, Asher Brynes,
Helen Fuller, Frank Getlein,
B. H. Haggin, Morton H. Halperin,
Irving Howe, Gerald W. Johnson,
Stanley Kauffmann, Walter Z. Laqueur,
Charles Burton Marshall, Helen Hill Miller

"The greatest growth in labor demand today is for highly trained professional workers with 16 or more years of education. The second fastest-growing demand is for technical and semi-professional workers with one to three years of post-high school education. [Between 1952 and 1962] jobs filled by high school graduates rose 30 percent, while jobs for those with no secondary education decreased 25 percent. . . . So I am asking all American parents to urge their children to go back to school in September, to assist them in every way to stay in school."
– JOHN F. KENNEDY, August 1, News Conference.

The President's concern with the dropout problem is understandable, although almost entirely neglected in the press. But the cure he proposes is both inadequate and irrelevant to the real problem. The President – or someone in the Labor Department who drafted his statement – seems to be convinced that students are dropping out of school because they are too shortsighted to realize that more education would benefit them. Given the diagnosis, the prescription was obvious: enlighten the students and they would stay in school. Unfortunately, the diagnosis is wrong.

The reason most students quit school is that they are learning nothing, or at least nothing of value. In many cases the so-called dropout is actually a reject, overtly or covertly encouraged to withdraw by the school authorities because he is causing trouble, not learning. Who will benefit if, by heroic efforts, these children are persuaded to stay on for a few more years? The statistics on unemployment would improve, simply because the unemployed would be doing nothing in the back of a classroom instead of on the streetcorner. But the students must leave school sooner or later, and when they do, they will still be unreliable, unskilled and hard to train. If, after nine, ten or eleven years, the school system has produced a young man who wants to quit (wants to quit, it is worth noting, even when there is little prospect of his finding a steady job at a good salary), who can imagine that a year or two more will make this potential dropout a model citizen?

What these youngsters need is not more schooling but an alternative to school. Some progress has been made with split-time programs which combine paying jobs with education. The trouble is, there aren't

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enough such jobs. If the President really wants to make a dent in the dropout problem he might consider an alternative scheme: continuing these men's education while they do their military service. The advantages are several. Unlike schools, the Army is organized on the assumption that its recruits are dimwits. Unlike teachers, non-commissioned officers have plenty of time to go over and over the same material till every trainee learns it. Unlike the Office of Education, the Pentagon finds it comparatively easy to get the money it needs from Congress. And unlike the public school system, the Army is controlled by the President, and can be restrained from tossing out every misfit.

During World War II many successful efforts were made to teach illiterate recruits to read and write, and even today the Army runs an elaborate training program for its men. But today the Selective Service System provides the Army with far more potential recruits than it can use. (The Navy and Air Force rely on volunteers.) Free to choose between a young man who is teaching English in a junior high school and another man who has an IQ of 80, no skills and no job, the Army naturally drafts the teacher and leaves the unemployables on the streets. Altogether, some 23 percent of the men who take the Army mental test are rejected. Nobody can blame the Army for rejecting the dull. Everyone does. That is one reason why so many dropouts have trouble getting jobs outside the Army. Nevertheless, there is a good case for requiring the Army to change its recruiting standards, sacrificing a little military efficiency for the public welfare.

Instead of rejecting the slower-witted draftees, for example, the President might consider ordering a systematic effort to recruit them. Such a change of policy would, it is true, increase the cost of training an army of a million men. Lowering the IQ floor would mean more wash-outs – men who can't be trained or disciplined even by the Army's methods. It would also mean that some training programs had to be run at a slower pace. The Army would, in short, add to its expenses and frustrations without necessarily adding to its fighting capacity. Nevertheless, these costs ought to be weighed against the cost of relief, unemployment insurance and crime when the dull-witted and uneducated are left to their own devices.

A second reform worth considering would be lowering the draft age. Today a man becomes eligible for the draft at 18½, but he is rarely called before he reaches 23. There are several reasons for the delay: older recruits, although physically past their peak, are believed easier to handle; taking men from the top of the age group leaves a big pool of potential draftees for emergencies; there are too many 18 year olds to draft everyone, and postponing selection to 23 helps bring supply and demand into line by eliminating those who decide to have children young. Yet none of these arguments is decisive, and if the President wants to do something for school dropouts he ought perhaps to draft them. There is considerable evidence that the Army can teach these men something – at least to read and write – if it tries and if it gets them young enough. But by the time they are 23, and have been unemployed for 7 or 8 years, they become too frustrated to try.

Lowering the draft age might also encourage many teenagers to stay in school to avoid being called. This is a dubious gain, but there is certainly a minority among dropouts who would benefit from staying in school. If lowering the draft age is out, many could still be persuaded to stay in school simply by changing selective service regulations so that local boards call the unemployed before the employed.

Balance of Payments—II

For reasons explained in our August 3 issue, deficits of $1 to $2 billion in the US balance of payments are likely for the next few years despite the President's July 18 proposals. Deficits of this size will be manageable so long as the European countries which are running surpluses continue to give the US credit. There is always a possibility, however, that the Europeans won't give the US credit, or will attach conditions which would be rejected in other circumstances. Already European credit has to some extent been made conditional on restraining the domestic economy; it could be made conditional on other things too (such as selling missiles to France, which now runs the biggest surplus). To avoid this possibility the US ought to push for some international equivalent to the Federal Reserve system, which would provide large amounts of credit on request (within certain ground rules).

"But," the casual reader – and some US Treasury experts – may object, "it is very difficult to set up a workable international institution, especially when a number of European countries oppose the idea, when top Treasury officials are lukewarm, and when Congress is likely to regard the whole scheme as an effort to compromise American sovereignty and legitimize deficit spending. Wouldn't it be easier to eliminate the deficit by increasing US exports, decreasing imports, restricting overseas investment, bringing some troops home or some other device?"

The argument makes a good deal of superficial sense. Unfortunately, however, most reductions of US expenditures abroad would be at least partially offset by corresponding reductions of foreign expenditures in the US. If the US cuts back aid to India, India will have to cut back purchases of wheat and steel mills. If the US curtails investment in Japan, Japan will not have

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

enough dollars to buy as many US machine tools as it now buys – and US income from dividends will drop in the years ahead. If the US raises tariffs to reduce its imports, someone else will do likewise, cutting US exports. Economically, the item with the least feedback would be a cut in US military expenditures abroad, though even this is partially offset by foreign orders for US military equipment.

Military spending aside, there are very few short-term remedies available to cure the balance of payments deficit. Even so, many bankers and Treasury officials argue that what we have to do is to find *ad hoc* devices for financing our deficits over the next few years. Then, perhaps around 1970, the gradual rise of European wages will make our exports more competitive, while our overseas investments will be earning much bigger dividends. Together, these two trends should put us in the black. But there is a fly in the ointment. Exports and dividends should indeed increase in the years ahead, but unless we create some kind of improved International Reserve System these changes will almost certainly induce counter-measures from other countries which will at least partially offset their value to the US.

The reason is that under the present system of international banking the only way to cut the US deficit by $1 billion is to increase other people's deficits, or decrease their surpluses, by precisely that amount. And while everyone favors the principle of a US payments surplus, each will fight to prevent an improvement at his expense. If European wages increase, so that Volkswagens cost as much as Ford Falcons, Europeans may buy more Fords for a while, but pretty soon there will be pressure on Brussels for a higher Common Market tariff on imported cars. If US dividends and interest from Canada increase as fast as seems likely, the Canadian payments position will deteriorate, and the Canadian dollar may well depreciate until the balance is nearly restored. (The problem is accentuated by the accountant's tendency to make his nation's balance look worse than it is. As a result, the world's deficits exceeded surpluses by $2 billion annually – a quirk only now being investigated by a committee of economic experts.)

So long as the only way to improve the US balance is to worsen somebody else's, progress will be immensely difficult. In theory, of course, everyone could keep his international payments more or less in balance, but in practice this is almost impossible, so long as we have fixed exchange rates. There are rhythms in international trade. One month exports go well, the next badly. There are also longer cycles, extending over years. In order to allow trade to flow freely, there must be some means whereby countries can run deficits over a substantial period without feeling compelled to restrict either international or domestic economic growth

In the past, this has been done by accumulating reserves of gold and foreign currency during periods of surplus, then selling these reserves in periods of deficit. Unfortunately, this system has about reached the end of its tether.

The trouble with accumulating foreign currencies is that the only currencies you can get easily are the currencies of nations which run a deficit. And nobody wants deficit currencies. Central bankers fear that if they accumulate dollars when the US is running a deficit, the US may decide to eliminate its deficit by devaluing the dollar. Most prefer gold. But the world has only been able to dig about 1.2 billion ounces of gold out of the ground, and at the present arbitrary rate of $35 an ounce this is only worth about $42 billion. Together, the world's countries need reserves of more than $42 billion. Gold alone cannot serve the purpose.

There are various ways out. One would be to create an international bank (perhaps an expanded International Monetary Fund) in which everyone could accumulate his reserves in some new unit of currency other than the dollar. Such a currency's value would be guaranteed against national currencies. This was proposed back in 1942 by Lord Keynes, but rejected at Bretton Woods by Harry Dexter White, acting for the then omnipotent US. Other variants have more recently been proposed by Reginald Maudling, Harold Wilson and other British spokesmen, as well as by many European and American economists and bankers. If all the major nations of the world agreed to accept such a currency (*i.e.* agreed to accept a credit with the new international bank as a payment of debts owed them) each could then accumulate much larger reserves without being constrained by the shortage of gold or lack of confidence in the dollar. Such a new bank could, conversely, create credit in large amounts to tide over nations like the US which are running deficits for a few years but show prospects of improving their position. (The bank would not, presumably, be equally generous with nations which ran permanent deficits, as some underdeveloped countries do. But at least foreign aid would not have to be curtailed on account of exchange shortages.) Unfortunately, most European bankers oppose such a venture.

Another alternative is to find substitutes for gold which, unlike the dollar and other deficit currencies, inspire confidence. The US Treasury has recently been trying to persuade various countries to hold medium-term US bonds payable in francs, marks and other "strong" currencies, instead of dollars, but so far the demand has been limited. There are innumerable other possibilities. The world could hold its reserves in silver as well as gold, or in powdered milk for that matter. The choice of gold is pure tradition. Yet perhaps the world is still wedded to gold for psychological reasons.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If so – if the Europeans are quite unwilling to collaborate in the creation of new international monetary institutions – the only solution is to raise the value of gold. The implications of this will be discussed in the next issue, in the third and last of these articles.

Those Pesticides

For the past several weeks a Senate subcommittee headed by Abraham Ribicoff (D, Conn.) has been trying to find out whether pesticides are a serious public health hazard. Its major discovery to date is that not even presumably impartial scientific experts can agree.

Among the critics is Dr. Wilhelm C. Hueper, chief of the environmental cancer section of the National Cancer Institute, and a world-renowned authority in his field. Hueper described several medical studies linking arsenic pesticides with human cancer. One study involved German vineyard workers who contracted skin and lung cancer in epidemic proportions after spraying arsenic compounds on grapes for several years. Germany subsequently banned the use of this bug killer, but it's still employed in the United States, said Hueper, notably on apples. "I never eat an apple without peeling it first," he added. Nor did Hueper confine his complaints to farmer's pesticides. He spoke of experimental evidence that rat poisons, fumigants, moth preservers and cleaning agents sold in supermarkets and hardware stores across the land may be highly toxic.

Hueper's fears were shared by Dr. Malcolm Hargraves, a blood-disease specialist at the Mayo Clinic. Community-wide bug-spraying activities are a serious, sometimes fatal, hazard to those suffering from leukemia, Hodgkins' disease, nephritis, and nephrosis, he said. "It is the chronic, insidious, sublethal, intermittent and recurrent exposure that is significant," he explained. "All persons with lymphoma or leukemia seem to have a significant history of exposure (to pesticides, solvents, gasoline, or chemically-related compounds). The same may be said of certain cases of nephritis, nephrosis, hepatitis, neurological disease, and vascular lesions. It is conservative to say that 50,000 individuals die of these diseases yearly in the United States."

Dr. Wayland J. Hayes Jr., a US Public Health Service toxicologist, flatly contradicted this indictment. "... There is no conclusive evidence that pesticides – old or new – are a cause of any disease except poisoning," he told the Ribicoff subcommittee. And the figures he presented on the amount of human poisoning induced by pesticides indicate that this is hardly a critical public health problem. "I believe that a considerable amount of harm can be done by representing to the public that (the alleged cause-and-effect relationship between pesticides and disease) is an established fact," he added.

Several officials from the Food and Drug Administration and the Agriculture Department also appeared before the Ribicoff subcommittee. Judging from what they said, Hayes was expressing the prevalent attitude of the regulatory agencies involved. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman, whose agency has most of the responsibility for determining whether pesticides are safe, told the subcommittee that "it is neither feasible nor desirable for the federal government to police the individual user."

Two months ago, the President's Science Advisory Committee issued a report on the use of pesticides which placed the White House roughly midway between the two camps.

The White House report urged, for example, that the government restrict the application of long-lasting pesticides. But it made their elimination only a long-term goal. Hueper, the cancer expert, asked for an immediate ban on all carcinogenic pesticides which don't decompose rapidly after application. He also said that no pesticide should be allowed on the market until "reliable, specific" methods of measuring its concentration in humans and animals have been developed.

Hayes, the Public Health officer, when asked whether elimination of long-lasting pesticides would be a good idea, danced around the question for a few minutes and finally said, "Well, I agree that special precautions need to be taken with the more dangerous materials, but I think this is very largely being done."

One key problem is informing purchasers about the risks involved in using pesticides. According to Dr. Joseph H. Holmes, of the University of Colorado medical school, the amount of illness caused by pesticides is far less in those areas of Colorado where one distributor accounts for the bulk of the sales, and is aware of the dangers, than in those areas where the same compounds are sold in a multitude of supermarkets and hardware stores, by clerks who have no idea of the hazard. "I do not approve of pesticides being sold in supermarkets along with groceries," Dr. Holmes added.

Meanwhile, according to a recent article in *The Wall Street Journal*, The Manufacturing Chemists Association and the National Agricultural Chemicals Association have been sending out newspaper feature stories ever since last November stressing the "positive side" of pesticide use. "The NACA doubled its public relations budget for the fiscal year that begins October 1st." The initial impact of Rachel Carson's *New Yorker* articles (later published as *Silent Spring*) has worn off, and in the absence of a scientific consensus about what ought to be done (or a tragedy comparable to thalidomide) Congress is unlikely to act. Nor, apparently, are most government agencies about to use their considerable power to curtail activity in this field.

Phil Hirsch

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FOREIGN REPORTS

MIDDLE EAST: *Cold War Among the Arabs*

★ As expected, President Nasser's speech on the eve of the eleventh anniversary of the Egyptian Revolution has buried the project for a federation of Syria, Iraq and Egypt only three months after it was born.

The Baath leaders will be relieved that Nasser took the initiative in calling off the Federation, since their own position in Iraq and Syria is still too weak for them to take responsibility for undermining the Arabs' oft-sought unity. Baath leaders must now face a prolonged campaign of propaganda from Cairo which will seek to weaken their hold on their own peoples. There will also be attempts to overthrow them by force, perhaps by the sympathizers of President Nasser, perhaps by the Communists, perhaps by the business classes, certainly by the Kurdish minority in Iraq, and in all probability by combinations of all these groups.

The Baath has come a long way in the decade since it began as a kind of intellectual club. It is now more like the conspiratorial "spearhead" of which Lenin spoke. But many questions remain. Will the new ordeals it now faces force it even further underground? Will it come to depend even more on an alliance with the army, or will it rely rather on the newly created National Guards? How far will it attempt to penetrate political life in Egypt itself? Will Jordan and the Gulf sheikhdoms become involved in the struggle? These questions are even more important than the "practical" question of the union between Iraq and Syria, since no union will bear much fruit in the next few years.

The Cold War which is now developing between Nasser and the Baath can threaten both Western oil wells and East-West peace. Yet neither side is likely to win decisively. Today Nasser is the stronger, and may yet topple his opponents in Damascus and Baghdad. But the union with Syria showed that the Nasserist system of government did not suit the temperament and tradition of the other Arab peoples. And Yemen has shown that force is no substitute for an indigenous political base.

If Arab unity is to be achieved in our time some means must be found of combining Nasser's immense personal appeal, Egyptian administrative skill, and some sort of political party organization suitable to the other Arab states. At first it looked as if the April agreements for an Arab federation might produce just such a combination. In fact they have led to a conflict of aims, methods, and doctrine which could become as fundamental as the rather similar conflict between Moscow and Peking.

Meanwhile the wretched Arab peasant continues to live on an income one-tenth the Western European average. The Cold War between the Baath and Nasser may distract Western attention from over-population in Egypt, underproduction on farms throughout the Middle East, and falling investment in industry. But these remain the crucial issues, and no Arab movement is likely to succeed unless it can resolve them.

SOUTH AFRICA: *Maybe Lord Home Has a Heart*

★ Mr. Stevenson's pledge at the UN that the United States will no longer send the Government of South Africa arms for external defense has little practical significance. The US has long refused to sell Dr. Verwoerd weapons which he might use to put down the populace, and the arms now in question apparently are nothing more than communications equipment, primarily useful for defense of the South Atlantic in case of war.

Nor do Lord Home's vague and belated promises to halt British shipment of certain weapons have much meaning. British firms have already helped to construct munitions factories near Johannesburg, and these now assure South Africa self-sufficiency in the manufacture of the small arms and ammunition it needs for internal control. Furthermore, Lord Home took pains to assure South Africa that its defense arrangement for the South Atlantic would not be jeopardized by the embargo. This means that if the hardware Britain now sends South Africa is defined as having a primarily "external" rather than "internal" purpose, it will be business-as-usual. The British have been handing out guns to Verwoerd for so long that it is difficult to believe Lord Home has suddenly had a change of heart.

The American and British promises do represent a sort of psychological victory for the black African nations, which have been trying for years to lift the Western military shield from South Africa. The US and Britain, while constantly proclaiming their dislike of apartheid, have resisted this effort. Last December the Afro-Asian bloc got a demand for economic sanctions through the General Assembly. Last week, however, the Security Council refused to act on the resolution. In December Stevenson said sanctions "would only provoke intransigence and harden the existing situation," and this is still the view of the US and Britain. Stevenson may be right. But since neither the US nor Britain has offered any alternative program for ending apartheid, many Africans conclude that both countries tacitly support Verwoerd. In a sense this is true. Many in Washington still prefer apartheid to violence, especially when they consider the profitable trade and extensive investments which both the US and Britain retain in South Africa.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

HAITI: *Innocence Saves No One*

★ The assault of General Leon Cantave and his 200 exiled Haitian Army regulars upon Francois Duvalier's northern frontier calls to mind those tragic blows German professional soldiers once summoned against Hitler's dictatorship – brave, limited and impelled by no reaction more complicated than an assault on their profession. Unfortunately, as this is written the venture appears to have failed.

Being old-fashioned, Cantave did not emulate the CIA by trying to appraise the state of public opinion in Haiti prior to his arrival. The public opinion of poor people who have been cheated for decades (and brutally terrorized under Duvalier) does not really count for very much. They are too wretched to understand anything but power, and when they saw the size of Cantave's force, and compared it to the Presidential Guard on which Duvalier has lavished what little American aid he has been able to get, they decided to sit tight. With 1,000 men, Cantave might have won; 200 was not enough to move the fearful.

Other Haitian exiles, most of whom Cantave did not consult, have deplored his go-it-alone approach. But then the conversation of exiles consists of the criticism of one failure by another. No mustering of exiles is likely to bring Duvalier down. Many, like Cantave, are identified with the old political and military elite, discredited in 1956 with the fall of the Maglior dictatorship. Others are radical intellectuals, equally discredited. The Haitian intellectual renaissance was an attempt to understand the primitive tradition and produce from it something unique, both in culture and social progress. That renaissance produced Duvalier. He knew more about public health than any other Haitian doctor and more about voodoo customs than most Haitian scholars. He ran as an anthropologist; he has ruled as a voodoo priest. That is hardly the fault of the cultural elite; but innocence saves no one in Haiti. Only the peasants go on multiplying.

As for the underground, it does not seem actively interested in overthrowing Duvalier. That is simply taken for granted. Instead the underground saves its energy to insure that after Duvalier there will be a genuine revolution, not another of his ilk. Cantave could not rally these men. Who will?

ARGENTINA: *What Is Illia?*

★ Arturo Illia ran for president of Argentina on a platform of radical economic nationalism, promising, among other things, to revoke his country's contracts with Esso and other US oil companies. The businessman's outrage communicates easily to the diplomat, and US officials seem to have been glum when the election returns – to the surprise of most Argentinians, including Illia – suggested that he would be elected by Argentina's electoral college.

Yet Illia's radical promises seem to have little to do with his victory or the probable shape of his administration. After initial hesitation, the Buenos Aires stock market has hit an all time high, mainly because *peronism* seems finally in retreat. Even the diplomats are saying that Illia is really a sheep in wolf's clothing.

Actually, nobody knows what Illia is. He has not been elected for what he is, but for what he is not – not Juan Peron nor Pedro Aramburu nor Arturo Frondizi, and so not tainted by association with Argentina's political past. General Aramburu, the Praetorian chief who presided over his country's last two military revolutions, is a sentimental man who dreamt of being constitutionally anointed by a free electorate. The Argentinians were surprised and delighted when he allowed them to vote, but not grateful enough to elect him. Frondizi was under house arrest and his Intransigent Radicals too divided to win. The *peronistas* were excluded. And so the people woke up to find an unknown 64-year-old country doctor as President.

Their pleasure was barely clouded by the fact that they had not quite managed to choose a government. Illia's Popular Radical Party has only 71 of the 97 votes needed to control Parliament. Failing an agreement between Frondizi and Illia, who apparently loathe one another, the Popular Radicals can only rule by keeping their opponents divided.

Illia takes over a nation that has been a classic example of human folly overcoming every natural advantage. Will it all change? The stock market has boomed, but the unemployment rate is still 10 percent, the cost of living is up a third over last year, and the balance of payments shows a large deficit.

Economic nationalism is probably the wrong prescription. Argentinians have an estimated $3 billion abroad, a hedge against renewed *peronism*. Illia needs this capital; he can get it back only by stopping inflation. Yet the deflation urged by the International Monetary Fund, the State Department and other economic sages could unite the splintered opposition and bring the unions out in the streets again.

So Illia will be fighting for his political life daily. The unhappy function of the 19th Century Latin American Liberal was to run caretaker governments while the soldiers quarreled over the succession. Illia seems a 19th Century man. Quarrels between Left and Right in the armed forces enabled him to take power, and may give him a breathing space. But the Army's "Nasserite" faction seems already mustering for its hour, and unless Illia is extraordinarily lucky or skillful, his presidency may prove only a temporary interlude.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

TORY SCANDALS HAVE AT LAST MADE LABOUR SPY CONSCIOUS

Blushing James Bond

London

Britain's security services have been having just as disastrous a run as their boss, who is, of course, Harold Macmillan himself. When Harold Wilson was laying into Macmillan over the Profumo-Keeler-Ivanov triangle he could declare, with little hyperbole, that "the £60 million spent on these services under the right honorable gentleman's premiership have been less productive in this vitally important case than the security services of the *News of the World*." In the two months since then, more custard pies have been slapped into the handsome but negligent features of James Bond.

First came Kim Philby, the "third man" who tipped off Burgess and Maclean back in 1951 but who did not see fit to own up to the Foreign Office until the beginning of this year, after which he promptly disappeared from his job as *Observer* and *Economist* correspondent in Beirut and reportedly took asylum in the USSR. Philby appears to have been a double agent, working in the Middle East for both the Foreign Office and the Russians. All and sundry have recalled, with alacrity, that George Blake (the double agent who was put away for 42 years in 1961) was picked up while attending an Arab studies school just outside Beirut, much patronized by the Foreign Office.

After Philby came the less publicized defection of Corporal Brian Patchett, serving with British army intelligence in Germany. The issue here is that Patchett had been cleared in a positive vetting just before he went over to the Russians, a vetting which should have included the tougher techniques adopted since the revelations of slackness in checking William Vassall, the homosexual Admiralty clerk. As one Labour MP who specializes in security said to me: "They could have rumbled Patchett if they'd written to his vicar. It's as simple as that." (British security agents also seem to be curiously naïve about alcohol. Burgess, Maclean, Philby and Houghton – a petty officer involved in the 1961 Admiralty spy case – were all established drunks.)

In this demoralization it was no surprise that rumors began to fly round Whitehall, including one about the disappearance of a Skybolt document left by McNamara at the Ministry of Defense last December. The big question here is whether anyone near President Kennedy wants to tear up the Polaris agreement on the strength of article XIV, paragraph 2, which stipulates that Britain must carry out security procedures comparable to American standards. The Admiralty knows that the Russians would give a lot to learn about the missile, and perhaps even more about the inertial guidance system for navigating nuclear submarines. And the Admiralty, however anxious now to vet everyone down to shipyard tea-maker's helper, is still suspect, as a result both of Vassall and of the Russians' six-year penetration of its underwater weapons establishment at Portland. This latter ended in 1961 with the capture of a Russian agent calling himself Gordon Arnold Lonsdale and two Americans, the Cohens (or Krogers). Even if Washington isn't over-worried about British security leaks, they might provide the excuse for backing out of the Polaris deal now that Britain has proved so unresponsive to the multilateral nuclear force.

So what's to be done about British security? Labour argues that the organizational job is too time-consuming for a prime minister to tackle himself (and Macmillan's real preoccupations may well have discouraged security from planking the right reports, including the Profumo one, on his desk when it should have done). Wilson and his advisers see no alternative to continuing to run security under the prime minister's final responsibility, but a Labour government would appoint a minister of state to carry through a general overhaul in the first two or three years. The suspicion is that Britain simply does not spend as much as a professedly nuclear power should to protect itself: compared with a total defense budget approaching the £2,000 million mark, security's allocation of some £12 million a year looks recklessly like cheese-paring.

MI-5, the chief security group, spends about £8 million (there are proud announcements when it underspends), and is chiefly staffed by ex-service officers, lawyers and ex-policemen. In the lower echelons it tends to rely on well-bred (and therefore, it is always assumed, patriotic) young ladies. Working in the same field is Scotland Yard's Special Branch, which in law has to make the actual arrests, but which is also engaged in a general watch on aliens and political agitators (like the nuclear disarmers' "Spies for Peace"). The army, navy and air force are at present separately responsible for keeping their own secrets – although in the big reshuffle which will set up Britain's new Pentagon next April this responsibility will fall in the lap of the single, McNamara-style Defense Secretary. The

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

critics affirm that control over these organizations is too divided, and that MI-5 and the Special Branch are much too understaffed to keep tabs on every real agent, let alone the potential ones. In the Labour Party there are complaints that the social class that runs security has been far too lax in reporting the character defects of other public schoolboys: it was noticeable once more in the Vassall inquiry how all his bosses calmly assumed that his living standards were sustained by family money. But British security has had to work in a pretty inimical political climate, especially among sections of the Labour Party and the Liberals. The cry of McCarthyism is raised whenever, say, university teachers have been sounded about former pupils or when men have been sacked from secret work for having a Russian mother-in-law. Trade unions have been resisting the recent requirement that, when secret work is concerned, government departments will not negotiate with Communist union officials. And one can still recall Aneurin Bevan's much-applauded dictum on the balance of power achieved by the dissemination of the first nuclear secrets by Nunn May and Fuchs: "If the Russian spy system had been more effective, we would have been safe four years earlier." A Labour government of technocrats under Harold Wilson would no longer fall for that kind of argument. It is one blessing of Macmillan's present troubles that Labour has now committed itself to being more security-minded than the Tories.

ALASTAIR BURNET

The Road Back to Mainland China

by Cyrus H. Peake

Most Americans assume that the Sino-Soviet dispute is, as the participants claim, an essentially ideological debate about coexistence and war. Seeing the USSR as less militant than China, they tend to assume that the hope for world peace lies in continued Chinese dependence on the USSR. An independent China, they fear, would be a greater menace than a dependent China. But in fact, I would argue, the heart of the Sino-Soviet dispute is economic. The issue is whether Northern China will become an economic appendage of the USSR. It is in the American interest to prevent this. China should be made dependent on the West instead.

Most Americans still have a Nineteenth Century conception of China as a land of vast resources and unlimited markets. Knowing only that there are a great many Chinese, and that it is a very large country, we assume that it will inevitably attain great-power status, co-equal with the USSR and the US. The fact is, however, that the mainland Chinese, who were one-third of the world's population in the Nineteenth Century, have shrunk to one-fifth today. In relation to the size of the country and its population China has comparatively limited material resources. Its total steel production is seventh in the world, and per capita only forty-sixth. No less than eight countries in Asia and Africa have higher per capita steel consumption. There are other parts of Asia, Africa and Latin America with equal or greater underdeveloped potential.

In 1951 America's leading economic geographer of China, George B. Cressey, wrote in *Asia's Lands and Peoples* that "China has the material basis for a modest industrialization, but in terms of population she ranks well down the list of the great powers." That assessment still seems to me valid. China's limited acreage of cultivable land is largely required to grow food for domestic consumption; cash export crops create very little foreign exchange to pay for industrial machinery. This means that if China is ever to develop her resources, she needs immense long-term, low-interest loans to buy industrial equipment. Yet even if mainland China were given all the aid it could absorb, it probably could not achieve economic or military equality with the USSR, the US or the Common Market for several generations.

The USSR could not provide loans on the necessary scale even if she tried. And she has not tried. So far as can be determined the USSR has given China only about $2.2 billion in credit since 1949. Of this, about

---

CYRUS H. PEAKE *is the author of* Nationalism and Education in Modern China. *Now Emeritus Professor of East Asian History at Claremont Graduate School in California, he has been managing editor of the* Far Eastern Quarterly, *an adviser to the Bureau of Far Eastern Affairs of the State Department and with the Office of Intelligence Research from 1953 to 1959.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

$1.8 billion was for military assistance and for Sino-Soviet joint stock companies in North China. As in Eastern Europe, these joint stock companies were a device for giving the USSR substantial control of the Chinese economy. They were dismembered in 1954-55 at China's urgent request. Joint stock companies and military assistance aside, the Soviet input has been a mere $430 million, all short-term loans and credits, on which prompt repayment is being demanded. So far as can be determined the USSR has given no long-term loans or grants. (The Chinese have recently charged that the Soviets tried to make a profit on these supposedly charitable ventures and trade arrangements.) Doak Barnett is therefore probably right to argue (in his authoritative *Communist China and Asia*) that inadequate long-term credit drove the Chinese to the disastrous Great Leap Forward, a scheme which tried to substitute domestic manpower for the machines foreign capital would import.

From the economic point of view there are two Chinas – South China and North China. South China is a densely populated, rice-growing country; North China is a less populated, dry-farming country. North China has more than half the natural resources and industrial capacity, less than a third of the people. If we look farther north, to the area of the Great Wall, the contrast is even greater. The far North has most of the known oil reserves and more than half the iron and steel industry, but only about 12 percent of the population. This helps explain Japan's traditional interest in Manchuria, and it also explains current Soviet policy to some extent. The USSR has a relatively weak economic and strategic position in Siberia. It covets the industrial potential of North China. Moscow wants a docile Chinese Communist Party which will integrate the economy of North China into that of the USSR, just as the economies of the East European countries are being integrated. Needless to say, the Chinese do not want to become satellites, permanently dependent on the USSR for "advanced" products. That is the root of the Sino-Soviet dispute, not the unending debate on coexistence.

The Chinese want an alternative to Soviet aid and hegemony. Since the failure of the Great Leap Forward they have turned, despite their militant ideology, to the "imperialists." The non-Communist nations have given China short-term credits for over $100 million since 1959, while the USSR has apparently given none in the same period. They now account for 55 percent of China's imports, compared to 30 percent in 1959. Trade between the USSR and China dropped 67 percent in the same period, and trade with the other Communist countries has also fallen sharply.

The US has, however, remained aloof from this dramatic turn of events, and has often bitterly opposed it. We still seem to believe, like Chiang Kai-shek, that the road back to the mainland is military. This is nonsense. Assume for the moment that the West were to refuse credits to China, and that economic chaos were to make a Nationalist attack on the mainland feasible. The most we could expect would be that the Nationalists would establish control over Southern China, while the Communists retreated to the rich North. At this point the Soviets would almost certainly intervene. As in Eastern Europe, the presence of Soviet troops would provide a basis for Soviet hegemony. The US and Chiang would have helped the Kremlin do what it could not do alone – make China an economic and ideological satellite. Is this what the US wants?

The best hope for the West is a completely independent self-respecting China. To achieve this the non-Communist nations should formulate a big aid program. The countries participating must deal as a group with the state-controlled foreign trade organization of the Communist government. They must draw up their own plans for the development of mainland China, stressing the consumer economy and using trade as an instrument of policy. This is necessary to assure that aid will not be diverted to the military establishment or to the exploitation of North China for Soviet strategic purposes. In addition, a united front is needed to prevent the USSR or China from using trade for political purposes or indulging in price-cutting and dumping.

Non-Communist trade with Communist China is almost certain to grow; the hope of the US is to channel it in the right directions. We are in no position to do this today. Our policy is too inflexible to influence either our allies or the Chinese leadership. The US has never made it clear that it would trade with mainland China, even if threats to the territorial and administrative integrity of China's neighbors were stopped. If the US were prepared to offer credits to raise the living standards of the Chinese people, it would at least have a bargaining position.

Confronted with the bankruptcy of its foreign and domestic policies, mainland China really has little choice. In order to get the aid and trade it needs, it would probably accept reasonable terms of trade laid down by an international trade organization. The alternative, after all, is limited trade with the rest of the Communist bloc, and Soviet aid calculated to make China a satellite economy. This alternative ought to be as repugnant to Washington as it is to Peking. Communist China needs a way out of its largely self-imposed isolation, a way to end the deprivations inflicted upon its people by the leadership's vain efforts to achieve great power status and ideological influence. Otherwise, there is grave danger that instead of conveniently disappearing, as many Americans apparently expect, Chinese leaders will plunge ahead in frustrated pride and anger, down the road to war.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Angels Are White

Who Pays the Bills for Civil Rights?

by Reese Cleghorn

> *"Our Boston millionaires give money when it is solicited (properly), and they all include in their wills some bequests to Harvard and to Massachusetts General Hospital. That is all."*
>
> *– Review of Reviews, 1893.*

Marcus Garvey is said to have collected $10 million within two years half a century ago by creating Dukedoms of the Nile and the Niger, operating a black nationalist industrial and military empire and disclosing that both God and the angels are black. In those times a new and smaller power called the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People was gleaning in the fields of Manhattan for enough money to stay alive; most of its angels were white.

Since then, more and more angels have been on the side of reform. In June some of these banded together to finance a new Council for United Civil Rights Leadership, and endowed it with $800,000. Another $700,000 is expected by the end of the summer, and those sums can probably be duplicated in the future.

We apparently have become so accustomed to announcements of million-dollar funds that this one did not seem very newsworthy. But $1.5 million is more than the NAACP budgeted nationally for 1963, and four times as much as Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference will spend.

The leading angel behind these silver linings is Stephen Currier, who was briefly mentioned in one news story as "a young and hitherto little-publicized man of wealth." That was only a whisper of the full truth; Stephen Currier has been as dedicated to anonymity as some men are to mammon. He now has emerged only to the extent of serving as co-chairman (with the Urban League's Whitney Young) of the new Council.

Even the mention of Currier's name was a little startling to those who had known of his civil rights interests. His modesty is suggested by the fact that his office tells reporters with blunt finality: "Mr. Currier does not speak with newspaper people." When he does speak it is usually softly, though he can be tart and he has a highly developed critical faculty. He is a young man out of Harvard, in his early 30's, of medium height and pleasant disposition. He wears spectacles and careful clothing. His business identification is Currier and Co., an ownership firm, and he is president of the Taconic Foundation, which has quietly engaged in various philanthropies but most recently in a widely-noted study of unemployment among young workers. The foundation has not participated primarily in civil rights work, though it has helped finance the Southern Regional Council's Voter Education Project.

Wealthy in his own right, Currier is married to an heiress of the Mellon fortune. In the world of philanthropy, that is all that need be said. Having concluded that competition for funds was at the root of the discord apparent in recent months among rights groups, he began to produce the solution: money. For three months now, rounding up cash has been his calling. "He is at it at 5 or 6 in the morning, and sometimes when I poop out around 10 that night he is still going," says his designated spokesman. (He, too, insists upon being anonymous.) Undoubtedly a substantial sum of his own money is involved, but the first $800,000 was raised among 96 corporation and foundation leaders who ate breakfast at Currier's expense on June 19 at the Carlyle Hotel in New York.

Since then Currier has moved resolutely about the city calling upon people of wealth. Besides these excursions, his path these days is principally that between his mid-Manhattan apartment, where he does some of his work, and his foundation's office on the 35th floor of the Tishman Building. Lately there has been little time to spend on his estates in Vermont and Virginia, and little to devote to his art interests. "He is dedicated," his anonymous spokesman says. "He is spending all his time at this now. And this is the first time he has ever asked anyone for money. Usually, it has been the other way around."

Perhaps because of his youth and a gentler bearing often associated with men who have inherited money instead of seizing it, one long-time acquaintance has said of him: "He is not exactly the type who would bowl over the board of Inland Steel." But he has been obviously effective, and the leaders of the civil rights

---

REESE CLEGHORN *is an editorial associate with the* Atlanta Journal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

organizations regard him as no dilettante. Two of these recently chose the same words: "Currier really understands what is going on."

It seems significant that most of the donors he has aroused are, though wealthy men, not members of the old wealthy families whose names would be widely recognized. Some have never given to such a cause before. Why this time? "Many people he talks to are just ashamed of some of the things happening in the South, and in the North," says the Fund's spokesman. "We go to people who have money, say this is what the civil rights groups are doing, and they need money." Then he adds what may be the best explanation of all: "I really think the photographs of Bull Connor and the police dogs did it."

Whatever the immediate inspiration, those interested in civil rights often have been moved less by the Emancipation Proclamation than by the Revenue Act of 1935. This seldom-memorized and scarcely-grandiloquent document began a change in American society that one day may rank it with Disraeli's Reform Act: it firmly established the enduring principle that private charities are of such social value that donations to them may be deducted from taxable income. The effect was so salubrious that corporations multiplied their charitable gifts by nine times between 1939 and 1945, and individuals five times. Besides giving life to the great foundations, the effect was to persuade such "non-deductible" organizations as the NAACP to assign their "deductible" functions, in this case legal defense and education, to separate organizations which might secure those blessings to which the Internal Revenue Service might entitle them.

One of the most impressive results of Currier's footwork is that of the first $800,000, donors of $300,000 agreed to give it to "action" groups which the Internal Revenue Service has not made deductible. The NAACP will get $125,000; the Congress of Racial Equality, $100,000; King's SCLC, $50,000; the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC – an independent offshoot of King's group), $15,000 with a promise of more later. Among the "deductibles," the Urban League will get $125,000; the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, $100,000; the National Council of Negro Women, $50,000. That left $235,000 unassigned, with more coming in every day.

It was a case of "to each according to his need," the Fund's spokesman said. There apparently was a determination not to leave out any of the seven chosen organizations if each would make any effo t at all to meet the basic requirements for financial statements and explanation of program. The fact that Dr. King received only $50,000 – and that his recently-established Gandhi Society is not included at all – may or may not be indicative. The Gandhi Society is SCLC's version of the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund, and some regard it as an unnecessary competitor for funds. As to why SCLC did not receive a bigger share, King is said to have told the other participants that his own fund-raising efforts this year have gone especially well (perhaps thanks, again, to Bull Connor's dogs) and other organizations might be in greater need.

The Council for United Civil Rights Leadership thus seems to be under way with a certain generosity of spirit and a minimum of discord. For non-deductible gifts, the council has opened an office at 10 East 44th Street, New York. For deductible gifts, it has established an allied Committee for Welfare, Education and Legal Defense (WELD, in the spirit of the times) at 10 Columbus Circle. Possibly attesting further to the orthodoxy of this revolution, WELD is being incorporated in Delaware. If there be any Marxists in the streets, that should send them back to their looms.

The suspicion will grow that this new council of unity is actually the seed of a great new community chest of the future. Its sponsors repeatedly emphasize its role as a fund raiser; yet it is obvious that all the participants were professionals at this already. It is known that at the Carlyle there was some discussion of working toward a United Fund approach for civil rights organizations.

Wilkins, King and others have talked of this before, contemplating the effectiveness of the United Jewish Appeal. Surely it has crossed their minds that such a mass organization as the NAACP, with 400,000 members in 1,500 units, and such an orator as King, with moral imperatives to support the efficacy of equality, would be a great combination with the collection plates. All that the sponsors of the unity council will say about this now, however, is that such talk is premature.

Each of the participants in the council now has a different base of support. In the NAACP's budget of $1.2 million (expected now to rise by at least $100,000 before the year is over), the members themselves bear the burden in systematic fashion, through dues, life membership fees, subscriptions and the like. This is the

SUMMER SCHEDULE

During the summer months,
The New Republic will not appear on:

August 24 *September 7*

Weekly publication will be resumed with the issue dated September 14

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only one of the "action" groups so supported.

Dr. King's SCLC, with a current budget of $375,000 to $400,000, is only fractionally supported by its affiliate organizations. Its true base of support is King himself, whose personal appeal brings in most of the money through the mail and at benefits. (Professional fund raisers have said they know of no one who has better results in mail appeals.) CORE also relies heavily upon benefits, for a budget of $789,000. While the NAACP budget has remained stable in recent times, King's has burgeoned from $60,000 in 1960, and CORE's also has had great growth, both reflecting the restlessness of the times.

For rapid expansion, however, no one can better the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee. Founded under King's auspices during the 1960 college sit-ins, the Atlanta-headquartered committee went its own way and now has far more full-time staff workers in the South than any other organization. A late count shows 193 workers. Except for about 35 summer helpers from various colleges, they are full-time regulars. SNCC spreads amoeba-like; when one of its numerous field secretaries finds a likely prospect, he forthwith employs him by sharing his own pay until the main office can provide approval and finish the paper work. The "Snicks'" austerity is legend. Most of the paid field workers receive $10 to $20 a week, and some turn in expense accounts with notations such as "15 cents for bread." For these dwellers in the cotton fields, and for other purposes, SNCC has a current budget of $267,000. It is expected to receive much more of the unity council's fund: its initial $15,000 allocation was based upon a 1962 budget of only $72,000.

More Workers, Less Violence

While SNCC's parsimonius young students may be multiplied by the new fund, the NAACP expects to increase the number of older professionals less spectacularly. Its new staff members, rather than working out of farmers' unpainted houses as SNCC workers do, probably will operate from the main office in Freedom House on West 40th Street. "This all developed too fast for us to be certain how it will be worked out," said Dr. John A. Morsell, assistant to Wilkins. But he expects an increase in "task force" operations, such as sending out professionals quickly to assist local units when something comes up. The NAACP and other organizations have been flooded by requests for help, sometimes from groups that know they want to protest but have not even decided how or against what.

In encouraging funds for the "action" organizations, especially, Currier is said to have had his eye upon the demonstrations taking place, often without firm direction. Much of this money will be used to add to the professional staffs of the participants. It is not truly a case of infiltrating the revolution with money, the sponsors insist; it is just that money, as President Kennedy might say, is "a part of the great American tradition." If you are going to have a revolution, it might as well be solvent, and imbued with American know-how.

Soon after the new fund was announced, someone said for the press that this money would provide more professional leadership to prevent violence. Roy Wilkins snapped a little at this idea, as if to say this was no attempt to slow anything down. (The NAACP spares no effort these days to prove that it never lagged behind Martin Luther King in its belief in demonstrations. One NAACP field secretary was heard telling a young sign-bearing staff worker during a recent march: "If you see a photographer, you just make sure that sign is up front.")

Yet it seems obvious that prevention of mayhem is one idea involved here. Another is that additional professional staff will enable those leading these protests to define and achieve their goals more intelligently.

The need for money in another realm, legal defense, is perhaps of even greater urgency. The Legal Defense Fund now has nine lawyers and suddenly there are 6,000 civil rights cases in Southern courts. The unity fund is expected to finance the addition of six more lawyers very soon. Wilkins was complaining not long ago that other organizations rush people out to get arrested and the NAACP has to get them out of jail; that has been the pattern. For each lawyer, some $25,000 is required for salary, secretary and logistical support.

So far no one has complained about receiving the new money. Though such gifts often were denounced in the 1930's as bones thrown down from the Olympian heights of capitalist treachery, no one this time seems to fear the boodle. Heywood Broun said of Andrew Mellon's offer to give the federal government his Old Masters, as well as a museum in which to house them: "It is a thumping gift, but it is not enough to justify the existence of swollen fortunes." The civil rights organizations seem ready to accept even the strings attached to these latest spoils, which consist almost entirely of a stuffy demand for programming and orthodox audits. The capitalists are not trying to inject Adam Smith into the revolt, just Price Waterhouse.

There is another aspect. One close to the bullion observed: "Obviously this makes for more rapport between whites and Negroes. It is an answer to the increasing go-it-alone feeling on the part of the Negroes down in the ranks. It will have a tendency to diminish the prospect of racial polarization."

Then he had another thought that suggests genuinely enthusiastic rapport. "I have an idea," he said, "that there is a lot more money where this came from."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bubbles, Bubbles

by Murray Kempton

This August in the Senate is a long, slow summer afternoon, so quiet that you can almost hear the bubbles burst. The Goldwater bubble, blown up by the breath of amateurs, still floats through the chamber full of professionals. No Senator will ever prick the bubble; he knows the consequences in tantrums. When it bursts, there will be no one to blame except time – and the air-conditioning.

The great Goldwater globe still hovers over the floor, but smaller, older bubbles are expiring all around. The first to go was the image of implacable Republican resistance to the smallest compromise with Nikita Khrushchev. When the treaty was announced, Senator Goldwater immediately offered that automatic "no" which he has made the shortest summation of credo since Molly Bloom said "yes." A few Republican Senators echoed the refrain, faintly, over the July 27 weekend. But when the Republican Senate Policy Committee met, the tone was set by one Senator who noted that while Communist governments certainly had a history of breaking treaties he wondered just where the Republican Party would be if the Soviets waited 12 years to violate this one. Senator Scott of Pennsylvania said that, of course, the Republicans had a duty to offer the most rigorous examination of the test ban, but they had better prepare themselves to vote for it in the end.

"We can't," Scott said, "afford to be the party that always says 'no'."

"No," intervened Senator Morton of Kentucky. "And we can't be the party that campaigns to deform all those babies."

The next day Senators Saltonstall and Aiken announced they would go to Moscow as Republican spear carriers in the triumph of a Democratic President. The test agreement will be debated, and not without formal noise; but the issue had been settled.

The Senate may also be seeing the last of the ancient Southern racist bubble. Its resistance to civil rights legislation and the power to veto have not yet disappeared, but the moment seems to be at hand. The President offered his bill with obvious disquiet, after the Negro revolt left him no alternative. Tradition suggests that the struggle will be nasty and its resolution fatal to important sections of the Administration bill. And yet there have been signs in recent weeks of a growing consensus in the Senate, a consensus as destructive to the automatic "no" of the Southerners as the test ban agreement was destructive to the automatic "no" of Barry Goldwater.

One Southern Senator, enlisted for the filibuster, said the other day that the President needed only manners and patience to whistle up the 67 votes he would need to stop a filibuster. This detachment is hardly typical of the morale of the Southern troops; still it does indicate how widely the suspicion has spread through the Senate that things are not what they were.

The South has always before found Northern Republicans to join in a vote against cloture. Some believed the filibuster itself a civil right; others sensed that their constituents had elected them to embody the ideal of equality without the disturbance of its practice; still others recognized the necessities of commercial trade. But the Senate has always broken filibusters on bills which the majority understood it was compelled to pass; the civil rights bill approaches that standing now.

And so suddenly everyone starts to notice how withered and ancient the Southerners have grown and how cruel a protracted filibuster would be for them. They have been in that condition a long while, but before this it had been useful to think of them swelling with vigor and power. One Midwestern Republican, who has voted against cloture on other civil rights bills and might in any case be expected to wait for Dirksen, said that he would help break the filibuster this time; he was most fervid when he reflected on the mercy he would be doing his Southern colleagues. When an ally begins to wonder aloud whether the cause is worth the health of his dear friend, desertion is in the air. The result is a real prospect that the debate will be protracted more for form than passion, and that if Mr. Kennedy sticks to his program he will get a bill very like the one he asked.

President Kennedy must have cherished the Goldwater candidacy and he must be saddened at the indications that it has been so short an interlude between the dreams of amateurs and the needs of professionals. Yet Goldwater seems to have lasted just long enough and not too long to leave the President the only clear gainer from his passage. The chance that Goldwater might be the candidate on the line above them left a number of Republican Senators with two immediate choices: they could stand and fight, risking the wrath of Goldwater's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

devout followers, or they could run far enough from under his shadow to establish a difference from him, hoping that way to retain some credit with the independent voters. They chose, of course, to run. This starting of hares has carried enough Republicans to the political center so that the Senate is likely to give Mr. Kennedy most of his immediate program and perhaps more than he really wants.

Senator Goldwater, just by drawing the line, has shown significant Republicans in wobbly Senate seats just how far left they are and need to be. Their moderate position is not far distant from the President's own. As a result, they want a Presidential candidate who is not an alternative to Kennedy but rather his double – a man who will no doubt lose the White House, but who, at least, will not alienate the independent voters on whom prominent Republican Senators must count for reelection. The figure best tailored to that need is Thruston Morton who, on large issues, usually settles for whatever room in the center the President has left, but who is ceremonially gracious enough to the hard right not to provide the occasion for a party split.

Mr. Kennedy seems still to think his program delicate and difficult, requiring prodigies in tactics. Yet, quite unconsciously, he has hit upon areas of public agreement so broad that, after organizing his battalions for unimaginably hot gates, he advances upon citadels already delivered by their garrisons. That has been his experience with the test ban; once the ritual dances are over, he could have a similar surprise on civil rights.

The President may be criticized for asking too little. But he did, after all, grow up in a Senate where the only issues pronounced debatable were those long ago settled, a Senate in which oppositions imagined as immense had in fact almost shrunk away. The generation-long absence of any fundamental radical thought has left us a politics which argues in public only about issues upon which the great majority of Americans have long ago made up their minds in private. Thus history remembers Senator McCarthy as a "controversial" figure; and his obituaries so described him. It is a measure of what that word has come to mean in our language that we call the deceased "controversial" to avoid saying that he was an object of terrible, general and savage public obloquy. Perhaps an issue is truly controversial only when, as in the case of recognizing Red China, Congress never debates it at all.

The habit of thinking political issues as still tough and dangerous after they have become quite easy and safe may, in fact, have left the President on a center slightly to the right of the Senate's. His concern has always been that Congress would flounder if he tried to move it too far too fast. But it is possible to see quite a different danger: Congress may flounder because the President lacks the self-confidence to move it far enough and fast enough.

The Senate is peculiarly passive this summer as it sits through what, if it is not a great change, could be at least an historic ratification. The mood of acceptance seldom inspires; Senators have never seemed wiser or more detached or more helpless. Somehow there is no one in the theater except the critics. Lyndon Johnson has been lifted upwards and the company has no real director. But more than that, there is no playwright; when the stage fills, it will therefore be for the standard repertory.

"Of course, you may think I'm prejudiced," Senator Fulbright says. "But I don't think all this race thing can mean much until we start spending real money on education. We appropriate how many billions for space and there isn't even an education bill."

There was, to be fair, an education bill earlier in the year; but this turned out to be the year for treaties and taxes and civil rights. These seem to have been sound market choices; even the President's tax bill is breathing again. Still, one comes away thinking of Washington as rather like a museum, run (as is the modern custom) with a feeling for fashion. The education bill goes down in the cellar like the Barbizon School; the lunch counter demonstrators go up on the walls like the action paintings. Now and again, someone in Washington asks about unemployment and there is a bipartisan vote for vocational training; a valued patron asks about "Pop Art" and the curator responds with the purchase of a single example; it is not too expensive and it serves to satisfy the curious.

Assistant Attorney General Burke Marshall has in his office a picture of Robert Kennedy caught by a news camera with an expression suggestive of dismay. "For Burke Marshal," General Kennedy wrote, "[taken] when I first heard that he had filed a voting case in Senator Eastland's home county." Both the President and his brother are graduates of the Senate, conditioned alike by a time when the Eastland bubble could still be mistaken for a Flying Fortress.

COMING: *Erich Wulff on the political future of the Buddhist revolt in Vietnam*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Celine: The Sod Beneath the Skin - II

by Irving Howe

In *Death on the Installment Plan* Céline returned to his childhood and adolescence in order to complete the record of his experience. An even grizzlier testimony than *Journey to the End of the Night*, Céline's second novel is written in a fitful and exuberant prose, and its tone is one of joyous loathing at having to turn back in memory to the miasma of youth. The misanthropy of the earlier novel ripens into outright paranoia: but with such bubbling energy, such a bilious and sizzling rhetoric, such a manic insistence upon dredging up the last recollection of filth! *Death on the Installment Plan* is a prolonged recital of cheating, venality and betrayal: the child as victim of the world. Still a boy, he learns to hate the whole social order: "It made me choke to think of it . . . of all the treachery of things! . . . All the swinishness! . . . The whole collection of ordures! Yes, God Almighty, I'd had my bellyful."

Two linked motifs control the book: the richest account of retching in modern literature and a profound yearning for solitude. Both are sequels to the running motif in *Journey to the End of the Night:* one runs from the filth and hopes to find a corner of quiet and a bit of peace. When Céline describes retching, he is an absolute virtuoso:

> "She brings up the lot . . . right into the wind . . . and I get it full in my face, the whole stinking stew that's been gurgling in her throat. . . . I, who haven't so much as a crumb to bring up! Ah, now, yes, I find I have, after all . . . my stomach gives one more turn. . . ."

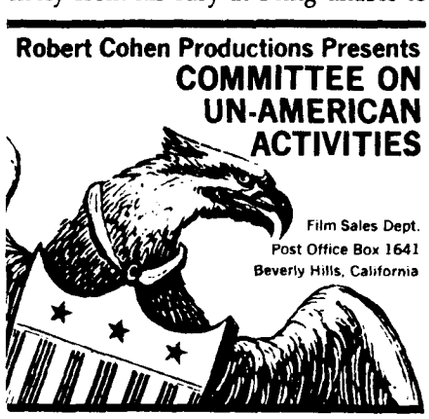
Vomit links with Céline's fruitless effort to disgorge the whole of his experience, as he runs through the darkness of the night. If only he could start afresh, with nothing on his stomach, and be rid of the rubbish of the past . . . but it cannot be done, there is always one more crumb of recollection.

The yearning for solitude is poignantly developed in *Death on the Installment Plan.* All a paranoid ever wants is "to be let alone," a wish that to be satisfied on his terms would require nothing less than a reconstruction of the universe. In one section of the novel, a set-piece displaying Céline's gifts at their best, he describes a stay in an English country-school, where he finds a happiness of sorts through taking long walks with a little idiot boy and an unobtrusive woman teacher, neither of whom troubles him by attempts at conversation. With the dumb and gentle he finds a paradise of muteness; here defenses can be lowered and nerves unravelled. And in this solitude it is also possible to enjoy the modest pleasures of masturbation. The adolescent hero of *Death on the Installment Plan* masturbates systematically, not with the excited curiosity of a youth but with the tameness of an old man. Pleasure can come only from himself, and only when alone with himself. And who knows, perhaps for the underground man as secret sharer of his potency, this is a kind of good faith, an act of sincerity.

There are writers in whose work a literary theme can barely be kept apart from a personal obsession, and psychological illness, through some perverse dynamic, becomes the source of a boundless creative energy. Céline is one of these:

The Nose and the Mound. Céline depicts a severed universe: on one side, he himself, the big nose, and on the other, the world at large, an enormous mound of *merde.* Maestro of bad smells, Céline learns that his nose is the one organ he can trust implicitly: it is the organ that remains sincere, and by it one can know women, cities, nations, destinies. "It's by smells that people, places and things come to their end. A whiff up one's nostrils is all that remains of past experience." His journey to America is a prolonged exploit in olefactory revulsion, climaxed by a visit to an underground urinal in New York, where he is simply awe-stricken – Cortez before the Pacific! – by "its joyous communion of filth."

Forever exposing himself to the multiplicity of *merde,* Céline reacts not merely to the hideousness of our social arrangements but even more, to the very conditions of existence itself, which dictate the stupidity of death, intolerable enough, and the prolonged stench of dying, still more intolerable. In *Journey to the End of the Night* he declares himself "appalled by my realization of biological ignominy," the last two words of this clause breaking forth as the very source of Céline's inspiration. He flinches before the sensual attributes of the least offensive body, and every time he sees a man engaging in the physiological functions he seethes with rage. Lusting after Lola, the sweet American nurse with piquant buttocks, he shudders in his lust: worms will reign over that flesh too. Had Céline lived in the early Christian era, he would have found himself a Manichean sect and spat upon sensual appetite as the taste of the devil. Being a 20th-Century Parisian, he submits to the most humiliating debaucheries precisely from his fury at being unable to



LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

avoid decay. Sartre and Camus may be students in the metaphysics of nausea, but what, by comparison with Céline, do they know about its actual qualities? They are more theoretic specialists, while Céline is an empiric master in the art of nausea.

Perhaps we can now understand somewhat better the running motif of *Journey to the End of the Night*. Céline is running not merely from society but from the sight of every living creature, and running, trips over the knowledge that it is from himself he would flee, the self that is alone inescapable. In *Death on the Installment Plan* he often befouls himself as a child, an act which at first seems the physical equivalent of his readiness to abandon self-respect as a luxury too dangerous for this world, but which after a time comes also to signify a recognition that even he is hopelessly implicated in the physicality against which he rages. One thinks of Swift, whose balked sense of purity melts into a fascination with filth, but there is a notable difference: Swift's writings almost always chart a descent from idea to matter, there is a wracking struggle of opposed life-principles – while in Céline, rot is sovereign, and flesh serves as argument for a gargantuan cosmic deception.

The Cheat of Language. Where finally can the compulsion to sincerity, to the last shameless self-revelation, lead but to silence? Céline writes: "I grow foul as soon as anyone talks to me; I hate it when they prattle." Or again: "The very idea made me howl with terror. Having to talk again – oh, Gawd." Anything beyond the reach of the nose is to be distrusted; all talk about human life is mere drivel unless it begins and ends with the breviary: "I am . . . thou art . . . all of us are despoilers, cheats, slobs." But once that has been said and said again and again, once Céline has spent the virtuosity of his rhetoric upon the denunciation of language, what then remains?

Comedy and Nausea. Cut away from its context in the novels, Céline's outlook upon life is narrow-spirited and tiresome. What saves him as a writer is that he so enjoys roaring his invective from the sewers, he makes his nausea into something deeply comic. In *Journey to the End of the Night*, talking about the war, he solemnly observes that "horses are lucky. They go through the war, like us, but they're not asked to . . . seem to believe in it. In this business they are unfortunate but free." During his visit to Africa, after suffering the afflictions of the jungle, he remarks that he is especially misfortunate because, as it happens, he "does not like the country." In *Death on the Installment Plan* his boss, a bogus scientist, launches a typical Célinesque diatribe after having failed in a piece of chicanery: "I'll get them right this time. . . . Their bellies, Ferdinand! Not their heads, but their bellies. Their digestions shall be my customers. . . . I'm through with the spirit for keeps! We're onto the bowels now, Ferdinand, the grand alimentary canal."

It is this perspective of comic nausea that accounts for the vividness of Céline's novels. His hatred and fear of abstraction lead him to stake everything on the specific incident. With noisy verbs and cascades of adjectives, he assaults nose, ear, eye, creating a carnival of sensations. But precisely this vividness soon reveals itself as a sign of Céline's limitation as a writer, for it tends to be monolithic and exhausting. Strictly speaking, Céline is not a satirist in the sense that Swift was, despite the remarkable energy of disgust the two writers share; Céline is neither intelligent nor discriminating enough to be a true satirist. His metier is a kind of savage burlesque. The nausea that makes him recoil from experience is linked to the comedy that makes him relish the experience of recoil – beyond that he cannot go.

Philistine and Genius. Halfway, both of Céline's novels begin to lag, for they are really more like a vaudeville, a grab-bag of skits, than coherently developed fictions. In terms of sheer *performance* they contain pages rivalling Dickens, yet once the climax of a skit is known there is seldom much point in waiting either for its conclusion or repetition. By its very nature, the skit cannot be sustained over a long period of time; it is essentially a virtuoso device and virtuosity holds one's attention largely through initial shock or brilliance. This is a technical difficulty, but as always, the technical difficulty reflects a deeper problem in literary intelligence. The opening of a Céline novel is so seductively vigorous in manner and conclusive in meaning that little remains for further development: a mere accumulation of misfortunes, even when rendered with comic genius, becomes enervating unless the misfortunes are controlled by some principle of selectivity, some idea of greater scope than the probability of further misfortune.

One comes at times to suspect that Céline writes from a total emptiness, that his show of energy hides a void, that he is really without any genuine

The Bad Knight

Sometimes against the siropy souls of romance
A vinegar soul is entered.
He is young, he can sing, he can dance,
But isn't sweet-centered.

Lissom he goes to the lists, mounts with feat foot,
Gathers his lance to him lighty,
And rideth before the fine ladies like Sir Launcelot,
But boweth not knightly;

And hurtles fierce as Sir Tristram at infidel foe,
Wounding him cruelly;
And deftly dismounts, drawing sword, beheading him so,
But cursing unduly.

His vinegar triumphs, his arms brast Templar and Turk;
But the ladies, the ladies despise him. He does his work.

Reed Whittemore

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

attitude or values. At such points, his novels seem like charades in which the gestures of life are enacted but the content has been lost. Driven by his simplistic ethics and his raging indiscriminateness of feeling to always greater assertions of cynicism, he falls, predictably, into the opposite error of sentimentalism. The novels are choked with emotions, yet the idea of emotion in its fine particularities remains beyond Céline's grasp. When he announces himself in love, it is with an embarrassing callowness. Let a prostitute show him an ounce of kindness or an inch of thigh, and he moons like a schoolboy. Necessarily so; for anyone with so constricted a notion of human feelings will not be able to respond intelligently to even a flimsy instance of them.

The ultimate limitation in Céline's work is a limitation of intelligence. He does not know what to do with his outpourings, except to multiply them; he cannot surmount his brilliant monomania. He is unable to distinguish among the kinds and degrees of loathesomeness, between a speck of dust and a mound of filth. Irritation and outrage, triviality and betrayal grate on his nerves almost equally. Except on grounds of racial incompleteness, it would be difficult to quarrel with Céline's description of 20th-Century experience; but there is something exasperating, at times even stupid, about a writer who roars with the same passion against nuisance and disaster. So overwhelmed is he by his demon of dirt, so infatuated with the invective he sends hurtling through his pages, he seems unable to think – and in the kind of novels he wrote, thought can be postponed but not dismissed. For all his authentic sense of affliction and all his gift for comedy, Céline remains something of a philistine, a philistine blessed with genius but a philistine nonetheless.

Shortly after the appearance of *Journey to the End of the Night* there appeared a striking critical essay by Leon Trotsky praising the novel – "Céline walked into great literature as other men walk into their own homes" – and predicting that Céline "will not write a second book with such an aversion for the lie and such a disbelief in the truth. The dissonance must resolve itself. Either the artist will make his peace with the darkness or he will perceive the dawn."

Trotsky's timing was a little off, and what he meant by "the dawn" need not concern us here. Céline did manage to write a second novel with the same attitudes as those in *Journey to the End of the Night*, but essentially the prediction of Trotsky was correct. In 1936, by now a famous writer, Céline took a trip to Russia and shortly thereafter wrote a little book called *Mea Culpa* in which, together with some shrewd observations about the Stalin dictatorship, he indulged himself in a wild harangue about the inherent beastiality of mankind. Apart from the humor and inventiveness of his novels, Céline's reflections served only to reveal the radical limitations of the kind of modern novelist who presents his intellectual incapacity as a principled anti-intellectualism.

There now begins a visible disintegration of Céline as both writer and person. In 1938 he published an appalling book entitled *Trifles for a Massacre (Bagatelles pour un Massacre)*, a dreary tract in which he blamed the Jews for everything from the defeat of Napoleon to the rise of surrealism, the corruption of the French language and the Sino-Japanese war. Among those he denounced as "Jewish" were Cézanne, Lenin, Montaigne, Stendhal, Vatican officials and Mrs. Wallis Simpson, all "representatives of our great culture [who lie] on all the pallets, in all the garrets of the official Jewish brothel. . . ." André Gide, reviewing the book, took it to be a satire on the assumption that it was impossible that a writer of Céline's gifts could mean what he said; but now it seems obvious that Céline did in fact mean what he said. What is possible, of course, is that he was suffering from some kind of mental derangement; but this is rather different from satire.

During the Second World War, Céline played a dishonorable role, living at peace with the Nazi occupation forces and expressing admiration for the Vichy collaborators. (See the preface to *Guignol's Band*, a late fiction that has almost no literary value but some pathological interest.) After the war the French government accused Céline of having been a collaborator and he,

A BORZOI BOOK

"Very much worth your attention"
– Harvey Swados, *The Nation*

The Organizational Society

by

ROBERT PRESTHUS

The big organization – in government, business, labor and the academic world – is here to stay. What is its effect on the personality of the individual who works for it? In this important new book, Robert Presthus, political scientist at Cornell University, makes unique use of political, sociological and psychological theory to provide provocative answers of increasingly urgent interest.

"An honest, scholarly work of valuable scope. The author controls a group of skills in sociology and psychology that are remarkably varied."
– John Dollard, *New York Times Book Review*

"A challenging interdisciplinary analysis of organizational behavior . . . a mature book written in a scholarly style."
– *Sociology and Social Research*

"One of the first important contributions to the study of the bureaucratic personality since Merton's 'Bureaucratic Structure and Personality.'"
– Amitai Etzioni, *American Sociological Review*

$6.00 at better bookstores

ALFRED·A·KNOPF
Publisher of Borzoi Books

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

self-exiled to Denmark, offered the sad reply that he had merely been an "abstentionist." Tried by the French authorities *in absentia*, he was convicted, sentenced, but not required to serve his time in prison. During the last decade of his life – he died in 1961 – Céline was allowed to return to France, where he lived in semi-retirement, a lonely and embittered man. Young readers in the late fifties and early sixties who have come to admire Beckett, Genet and Burroughs seem hardly to know that behind these writers, both as predecessor and possible influence, stands the disheveled but formidable figure of Louis-Ferdinand Céline.

His career, like that of Ezra Pound, is a classical instance of how a writer suffers in his purely literary work when his powers of mind are unequal to his powers of imagination. From the depths of the underground man's soul Céline brought forth all its effluvia, so that the world could see what was simmering there. His two novels, in all their brilliant imperfection, seem likely to survive the sickness of their inspiration. But at the end, unable to transcend the foulness which was his authentic and entirely legitimate subject, he made "his peace with the darkness." And not he alone.

The first part of Mr. Howe's essay appeared in the July 20 New Republic.

The Bewitchment of Bertrand Russell

by John Mander

The autumn of 1962 saw two major international crises: one in Cuba, and one on the Sino-Indian border. The well-meaning attempts of the British anti-nuclear campaigner, Lord Russell, to intervene in these disputes received much publicity at the time. Whether in fact Lord Russell influenced the course of either dispute may be doubted. But in response to his appeals to both sides for dangerous warmongering and congratulates Mr. Khrushchev and Mr. Chou En-lai for their services to peace.

Unarmed Victory
by Bertrand Russell
(Simon & Schuster; $3.50)
(Penguin; $.65)

to observe the peace he received lengthy communications from President Kennedy and Prime Minister Khrushchev, and from Mr. Nehru and Mr. Chou En-lai. These communications, together with his original appeals and his subsequent reflections, make up this book.

Lord Russell is a confessed "neutralist": that is to say, he claims to judge both disputes impartially. We might therefore expect a strong condemnation both of Khrushchev's attempt to smuggle offensive missiles into Cuba and China's attempt to coerce India by force of arms. This means that we should expect Lord Russell to oppose the peace-breakers and side with the victims. But this is not the case. Lord Russell attacks both President Kennedy and Mr. Nehru

A paradox? Not at all. The neutralist comes to support the aggressor, not because he is cowardly but because the logic of neutralism requires him to do so. The neutralist takes up a median position between the disputants; instead of judging the issues at stake, he mediates between them. He begs the aggressor to stop; if the aggressor does stop, the neutralist will congratulate him for doing so. Similarly, he begs the victim not to resist, for by resisting the victim prolongs the aggression. If the victim continues to resist, the neutralist will denounce him for warmongering. It follows that the more intransigent the aggressor and the greater his ruthlessness, the more will the neutralist lean to his side. Equally, the more scrupulous the victim, the more exposed will he be to the blandishments of the neutralist. It is a curious, but not at all illogical, reversal of what we might normally expect. Since China is known for her ruthlessness and India for her moral scrupulousness, it is not really surprising that Lord Russell should condemn India for her stubbornness and praise China for her "moderation."

Let us examine what Lord Russell says. In the past, India had enjoyed enormous prestige among British neutralists for her championship of non-alignment. Yet no sooner had India been attacked by China last autumn than India's neutralist admirers withdrew their support. Lord Russell writes that though, "internationally the Indian government stood in general for peace and conciliation in the past . . . there was evidence . . . that when India's national interests were involved, the Indian government was not capable of the impartiality which it urged in disputes to which it was not a party. The chief instances of this were Kashmir and Nagaland. . . . Already, India has ceased, in fact, though not in form, to be neutral as between East and West and *has thereby increased the chance of world war.*" (Italics added.)

What is India's offense? India's offense is to have turned to the West for arms. It is interesting that those nations – like Indonesia and Egypt – which have turned to Russia and China for arms are not considered by neutralists to have "increased the chance of world war." It cannot be wholly pleasant for Communist powers to have India turn entirely to the West in spite of the fact that Russia has been friendly to her. But perhaps the worst blow to the peace of the world is the fact that her defection from strict non-alignment weakens the bloc of neutral powers and their potential weight as arbitrators, especially since India was more politically mature than most of the others.

In the beginning, Lord Russell, an old friend of India from the days of the independence struggle, had been favorable to the Indian case:

> "When fighting began in the disputed regions, I thought at first, as did almost everybody in the West, that China was wholly in the wrong and had undoubtedly been the aggressor."

He goes on to say that the actual facts of the dispute are not important. It is the preservation of peace that matters:

> "From the point of view of the rest of the world and of humanity in general the details of the boundary dispute are irrelevant. What is clear is that there ought not to be war over them. The Chinese ceasefire and withdrawal strongly suggest that

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

China is more anxious to put an end to the conflict than is India."

How did Lord Russell come to this new assessment? At the beginning of November, a few days after the first Chinese onslaught, Lord Russell sent a telegram to Prime Minister Nehru. Mr. Nehru replied:

"Thank you for your telegram. Chou En-lai's offer of a ceasefire on the basis of the Chinese three-point proposal is in effect a demand for surrender on terms to be accepted and implemented while large Chinese armies are on Indian soil. No country, much less India, can submit to the military dictates of an aggressor.

"We have no desire to continue military conflict, nor do we desire any part of Chinese territory, but there can be no compromise with aggression. The first essential if we are to revert to peaceful processes is to undo the aggression by restoring the status quo ante 8th September 1962."

This is what Lord Russell has to say about this reply of Mr. Nehru's:

"Both in tone and in substance this response surprised and distressed me. It held up no hope that any peaceful solution might ever be arrived at, but appeared to be an ultimatum that the Chinese must give in at every point. Though I still thought, and continued for some time to think, that India was the injured party, and my sympathies in this dispute were with her, I was disturbed by the rapidly increasing war hysteria there as evidenced, not only by the tone of this telegram, but by the news given us in our daily press."

Apparently, Lord Russell had by now convinced himself that it was the *Indians* who had presented the *Chinese* with an ultimatum!

"The press in this country had waxed almost as hysterical as the Indians themselves in anger against Chinese 'aggression' and, sympathetic as I still was to the Indian point of view, I deeply deplored that the Chinese case should never be pre-

Not since *The Grapes of Wrath* has there been such a challenge to the conscience of Americans

Night comes to the Cumberlands

A BIOGRAPHY OF A DEPRESSED AREA

HARRY M. CAUDILL

Foreword by STEWART L. UDALL, Secretary of the Interior

The rape of their land has left half a million Americans to exist in utter poverty in the Kentucky mountains. *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* sets forth this shocking tragedy in detail and tells what can be done to save people and land from imminent disaster.

"Piles horror on horror"

"Caudill's narrative piles horror on horror—sharecropping, inbreeding, the exodus of those with talent or ambition; control of the government by the coal companies with their infamous company towns; exhaustion of the land by poor farming, cavalier mining and tree-felling methods, and by flash floods, moonshining and the depression which came early to the Cumberlands and stayed late."—*N. Y. Herald Tribune*

"Staggers the imagination"

"The challenge of this region staggers the imagination. As Caudill says, if we can pour out billions of dollars to create better social orders and raise living standards round the world, must we not give the same consideration to islands of poverty in our own affluent land?"

—*Chicago Tribune*

"Speaks to the American conscience"

"Caudill's book is a story of land failure and the failure of men. It is reminiscent of such earlier works as Sinclair's *The Jungle*, Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath*, and Agee's *Let Us Now Praise Famous Men*. Although one may differ with the details of interpretation, in probing dark areas of American life such books as these and *Night Comes to the Cumberlands* speak eloquently to the American conscience."

—STEWART L. UDALL, *Secretary of the Interior*

Illustrated with photographs . . . $6.75
An Atlantic Monthly Press Book

LITTLE, BROWN
BOSTON

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

sented, for, even then, I saw that the Chinese clearly had a case, whether one agreed or not."

The evasiveness of these last phrases is significant. "To have a case" signifies in normal English usage that the case is justified. But then Lord Russell confuses the issue by adding, "whether one agreed or not." You will remember that he has already said that "the details of the boundary dispute are irrelevant." How, then, can he continue:

"When populations have been worked up to a pitch of bellicose excitement it becomes very difficult for governments to restrain them. This has happened most notably in India. The government misled the population by concealing the fact that the Chinese had a legal case which, *on the face of it*, was as strong as the Indian case and that what was needed was negotiation supplemented by arbitration if necessary. China was willing to adopt this course but India was not. . . ."

Indeed, Lord Russell himself is surprised where his logic has led him:

"When the Communist revolution took place in China, I felt desolated, though I saw nothing good to uphold in Chiang Kai-shek. I thought that the brainwashing of which I read and the intensive destruction of old traditions and learning would destroy what I found delightful and admirable in China. Now, after the last month, I do not feel at all sure of this."

Despite this remarkable confession, he insists that he is no admirer of Mao's fanaticism:

"I both fear and intensely dislike Chinese Communism, wherever it differs from the policy of Mr. Khrushchev."

Nevertheless, in his new book, he has now come round to the view that, "China alone had offered to behave reasonably in the lamentable circumstances then obtaining."

No mention here of an aggressor or a victim, only of "circumstances then obtaining." After the announcement of the ceasefire, Lord Russell issued this statement to the press:

"The announcement by Prime Minister Chou En-lai and the government of China of a unilateral ceasefire should be universally welcomed as a generous act. The world was again on the brink of disaster and only the unimaginative will cavil at congratulating the Chinese for their decision."

Like Mr. Khrushchev's action in the Cuban crisis, the Chinese decision is hailed as "a triumph for unilateralism."

"I cannot think of any other instance in which a victorious army has been halted in this way by its own government. Because it had seemed to me from Chou En-lai's letter . . . that the Chinese were, in the matter of the border dispute, reasonable and temperate, I thought it worthwhile to write to Chou En-lai . . . appealing for such magnanimous action on the part of the Chinese government. But I was taken by surprise, as was the rest of the world, that they believed sufficiently clearly and strongly that war must be avoided to take such extreme measures to make such a sacrifice of their gains."

Earlier in the book, Lord Russell describes how he had written to Mr. Khrushchev in these terms:

"My dear Mr. Khrushchev,
I should like you to know of my personal feeling about your solving the Cuban crisis. I have never known any statesman act with the magnanimity and greatness which you have shown over Cuba and I wish you to be clear that every sincere and honest human being pays you homage for your courage.
With lasting esteem,
Bertrand Russell"

Lord Russell now addresses Mr. Khrushchev's rivals in hardly less enthusiastic terms:

"Dear Mr. Chou En-lai,
Your letter to me of 24 November has given me the greatest pleasure and I am honored to receive it. I should wish you to know that your decision not only to withdraw to the lines behind the positions of 8 September, but to do so unilaterally, fills me with admiration. . . ."

Lord Russell draws this general conclusion from his experience of the two great crises of autumn 1962:

"Whenever the question of peace or war is relevant, the merits of either side become insignificant in comparison with the importance of peace. For this reason I shall always side with the more peaceful party in any dispute between powerful nations. It has happened that in both the disputes . . . the Communist side has been the less bellicose."

By any standards, this is one of the most extraordinary statements ever to have been made by a famous moralist, philosopher, and logician.

"If only the officers of the A.M.A. read Professor Lindsey's book, they will be less insulting to the British medical profession in future."
—THE LISTENER

SOCIALIZED MEDICINE IN ENGLAND AND WALES

The National Health Service, 1948-1961
By Almont Lindsey

"Deserves to be widely read, pondered, and preserved as an outstanding work of reference on 'one of the notable achievements of the twentieth century!'"—*The Lancet*

"A most remarkably accurate account of the British health programme."
—*The Manchester Guardian*

"Should go a long way toward correcting the average American's distorted conception"
—*Saturday Review*

$8.50 at your bookstore or from
THE UNIVERSITY OF NORTH CAROLINA PRESS
Chapel Hill, North Carolina

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Henry Fonda,
distinguished American actor, is a member of the Hudson Book Club.

Discriminating readers find that membership in the HUDSON BOOK CLUB is a continuously satisfying experience. Economy is only one of the pleasures it affords. If you take your reading seriously — if books play too important a role in your life to be chosen solely by their position on the bestseller list—then you, too, will enjoy associating yourself with others who share your tastes. You will save an average of one-half on books you would ordinarily buy anyway—by means of low Members' Prices and free Bonus Books.

The current new membership offer (up to $35.00 worth of books for only $3.00) makes a cancellable trial membership especially inviting.

Why not join today without risk or obligation?

Any three for $1.00 each

with a trial membership.

NO MONEY NEED BE SENT NOW!

HUDSON BOOK CLUB, 131 Varick St., New York 13, N.Y.

You may enroll me as a trial member of the HUDSON BOOK CLUB and send me these THREE selections for only $1 each.

1 _____ 2 _____ 3 _____

☐ Please bill me $3.00 plus shipping charge.

☐ I enclose $3.00. Club will pay shipping.

Forthcoming selections and alternates will be described to me in a Monthly Advance Bulletin and I may decline any book simply by returning the printed form always provided. I agree to buy as few as four additional selections (or alternates) at the reduced Member's Price during the next twelve months; and I may resign at any time thereafter. I will receive a free BONUS BOOK for every four I accept after this introductory offer.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____

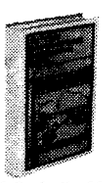
CITY _____ ZONE _____ STATE _____

GUARANTEE: If you are not completely satisfied with this Special Offer, you may return the selections within 7 days and your membership will be cancelled.

NR 194

O'NEILL. The monumental biography by Arthur & Barbara Gelb. "An Everest of a book."—*Saturday Review.* "One is dragged into the very presence of greatness." — *Arthur Miller.* 1,000 pgs., illus. **List Price $12.50**

THE SILENT PAST. By Ivar Lissner. The author of *The Living Past* recreates the "lost worlds" that have haunted human history... from the not-entirely-mythical splendors of Atlantis to the modern archaeological findings in Stonehenge, Jericho, Carthage, Delphi, Bactria, Crete, Sardinia, Yucatan, and many more. **List Price $6.95**



JOU PU TUAN (PRAYER MAT OF FLESH). "...a strange book, brimming with Buddhism. We are in the copulatory place of the *Francion* or of Sade."—*Nouvelle Revue Francaise.* **List Price $6.50**

THEATRE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. From Sartre (on Brecht) to Ionesco (on Pirandello), the major figures of the theatre in our time examine its techniques, its purposes, its absurdities (intentional and otherwise)...and dissect each other with no holds barred. Ed. by Robert W. Corrigan. **List Price $7.50**

THE ROTHSCHILDS. By Frederic Morton. A brilliant study of the almost legendary banking dynasty whose family history is part of the *secret* history of the past 150 years. Illus. with family portraits and photos. **List Price $5.95**

THE GREAT PHILOSOPHERS. Karl Jaspers invites us to share the philosophies (and the deepest meaning) of Socrates, Buddha, Confucius, Jesus, Plato, Augustine, Kant. **List Price $8.50**

MYTHS OF THE HERO. By Norma Lorre Goodrich. From Egypt to India and Scandinavia, from Gilgamesh to Roland. Never before collected in one volume; many never before translated. 100 illustrations. **List Price $12.50**

SPECULATIONS ABOUT JAKOB. By Uwe Johnson. The astounding work of fiction that signals the return of Germany to the arena of world literature. "A new creative voice...a name to conjure with...a fascinating novel." — *N.Y. Times Book Review.* "Magnificent unique prose. A great new talent."—*Kay Boyle.* **List Price $4.50**

CITY OF NIGHT. By John Rechy. This novel about a male prostitute is electrifying the literary world. "A wild descent into hell. Unforgettable." —*Herbert Gold.* "A humbling and liberating achievement." — *James Baldwin.* **List Price $5.95**

ANTI - INTELLECTUALISM IN AMERICAN LIFE. By Richard Hofstadter. Is America's notorious philistinism rooted in our deepest democratic beliefs? A revealing study by the Pulitzer-Prizewinning author of *The Age of Reform.* **List Price $6.95**

TROPIC OF CAPRICORN: By Henry Miller. "A *moral* work of great perception and feeling. The forces of censorship haven't a prayer against Miller's strength, conviction, and vitality."—*Richard Seaver.* **List Price $7.50**

BLACK SPRING. By Henry Miller. First American publication of the third volume in his world-famous forbidden trilogy. "A remarkable work of art. How could this ever be called pornographic?" — *Maxwell Geismar.* **List Price $5.00**

THE LIFE AND WORK OF SIGMUND FREUD. By Ernest Jones. One-volume edition of "one of the great biographies of our time." —*The Atlantic.* Ed. and abridged by Lionel Trilling & Steven Marcus. **List Price $7.50**

THE WILL OF ZEUS. By Stringfellow Barr. A history of Greece that is also a consummate literary achievement. Written with power, grandeur and beauty. Illus. **List Price $10**

FOUR THOUSAND YEARS AGO. By Geoffrey Bibbey. Life in the millennium which saw the birth of Abraham, the building of Stonehenge, the glory of Egypt, sack of Troy, and fall of Knossos. Illus. **List Price $6.95**

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Holmes and the Life of the Law

by Francis Biddle

The Proving Years, 1870-1882
by Mark De Wolfe Howe
(Harvard; $5)

The Common Law
by Oliver Wendell Holmes
edited by Mark De Wolfe Howe
(Harvard; $5)

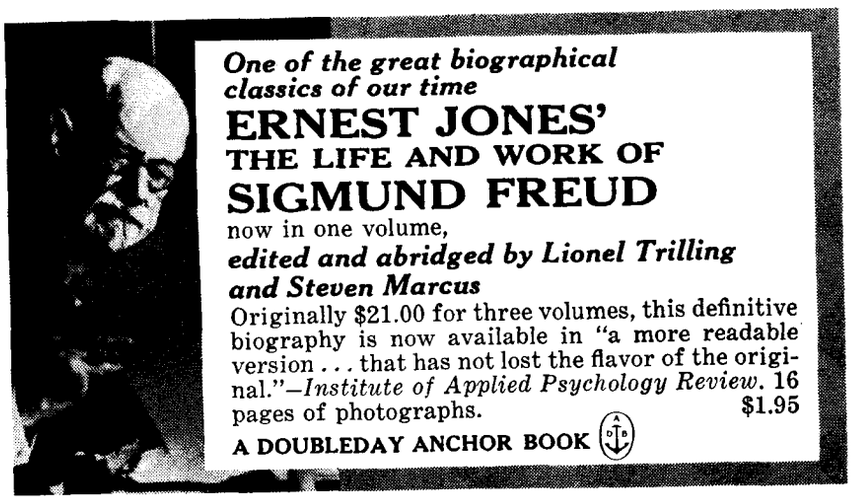
This second volume of Justice Holmes' biography covers the twelve years when he was editing the *American Law Review*, lecturing on law and jurisprudence at Harvard, getting out the twelfth edition of Kent's *Commentaries*, practicing, and devoting his evenings to the research which led to the publication of *The Common Law* in 1880, and his appointment to the Supreme Court of Massachusetts the following year. *The Common Law* became famous all over the world. It was hailed by the London *Spectator* as "the most original work of legal speculation which has appeared in English since the publication of Sir Henry Maine's *Ancient Law*" – and that was high praise. But theories of jurisprudence, however revealing at the time they were propounded, are not arresting eighty years later, except to the student and the scholar. Holmes himself liked to say that no book over twenty-five years old was worth reading; and less than thirty years after the publication of his own book, he wrote his friend Joaquim Nabuco, who had been ambassador from Brazil in Washington, that *The Common Law* was dead – the "theories and points of view which were new in it, now have become familiar to the masters and even to the middle-men and distributors of ideas – writers of textbooks and practical works." Many of Holmes' interpretations of legal history have been superseded by later scholars, so that his *aperçus*, so startling at the time they were made, have lost their original impact, and a good many are no longer tenable.

Professor Howe devotes five chapters out of ten in *The Proving Years* to a discussion of *The Common Law*. Yet he realizes that this is a difficult book, "for all its fresh and memorable generalities," and says, a little apologetically, that the close attention he gives *The Common Law* seems to place a book rather than a living person at the center of the stage. Yet for his biographer to neglect a careful analysis of *The Common Law* would have been to pass over the substance of Holmes' thinking. Professor Howe suggests that the book should be reconsidered at this time as a significant chapter in the history of American ideas rather than as a "lawbook." But that the book was a milestone eighty years ago is hardly enough to make the general reader want to read it now. Read, however, as an appendix to the biography, as showing what Holmes was like at forty, the book is invaluable. And it is ripe with perceptions that carry an enduring quality below and far beyond mere legal speculation. To Holmes, law was an expression of life, and he believed that it embodied the story of a nation's development through many centuries.

Lord Coke thought that reason underlay the life of the law. But Holmes found that life in experience, not logic. In the opening passage of the book, so often quoted, he says:

> "The object of this book is to present a general view of the Common Law. To accomplish the task, other tools are needed besides logic. It is something to show that the consistency of a system requires a particular result, but it is not all. The life of the law has not been logic: it has been experience. The felt necessities of the time, the prevalent moral and political theories, institutions of public policy, avowed or unconscious, even the prejudices which judges share with their fellow men, have had a great deal more to do than the syllogism in determining the rules by which men should be governed. The law embodies the story of a nation's development through many centuries, and it cannot be dealt with as if it contained only the axioms and corollaries of a book of mathematics. In order to know what it is, we must know what it has been, and what it tends to become."

This paragraph suggests the quality of Holmes' approach to his subject, a general review of the foundations of the Common Law. His method is historic, eclectic, experimental. He believed that law, like life, was never static; it was "always approaching, and never reaching consistency." It was constantly adapting new principles from life at one end, and retaining old ones from history at the other; and life would not become consistent until it ceased to grow. The underlying considerations of what are expedient for the community, which judges rarely mention, are "the secret root from which the law draws all the juices of life." Thus in early times, among the Frankish tribes, moral fault was conceived to be an essential element of liability, a


One of the great biographical classics of our time
ERNEST JONES'
THE LIFE AND WORK OF
SIGMUND FREUD
now in one volume,
edited and abridged by Lionel Trilling and Steven Marcus
Originally $21.00 for three volumes, this definitive biography is now available in "a more readable version . . . that has not lost the flavor of the original."—Institute of Applied Psychology Review. 16 pages of photographs.
$1.95
A DOUBLEDAY ANCHOR BOOK

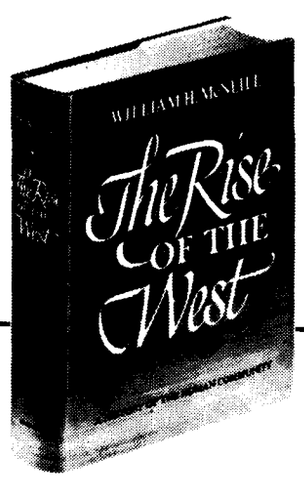
LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

viewpoint resulting from primitive animism – the thing that caused the injury had to be punished. Gradually the law of torts, growing from case to case, experimentally as new needs arose and the sense of the community developed, moved from a personal and moral standard to external tests in its practical application. A man came to be judged not by what he had done under the circumstances, but how the average prudent man should have behaved. Consideration of what was expedient for society took the place of *a priori* "moral" considerations. Holmes insisted that the first requirement of a sound body of law was that it should correspond with the actual feelings and demands of the community. Acceptance of the external standards of society, rather than individual preferences, tended to the building of a collective as against an individualized society. It was not that Holmes advocated socialism – he disliked it; but such convictions later when he was a judge tended, as Professor Howe exactly puts it, "to permit the public authority to prevail over private interests." From this it followed that society properly preferred its own security to the freedom and equality of the average man. The external test also tended to establish a scientific order in the law, and a certainty which Holmes considered its greatest need.

Professor Howe relates with imaginative understanding Holmes' ideas to his personal characteristics. Having come, largely through his Civil War disillusionment, to distrust fixed moral principles, he was now able to repudiate, not without relish, the complicated abstractions of Kant and Hegel, who had proclaimed the metaphysics of freedom, equality and will, instead of observing how men behaved. They and the later German jurists who had marched in their ponderous footsteps had misunderstood the origins of the Common Law, finding them in Roman law, instead of in the primitive customs of Germanic tribes. In *The Common Law* Holmes insisted, with a touch of chauvinism, that English law was "a far more developed, more rational, and a mightier body of law than the Roman"; and, writing to Arthur G. Sedgewick, who had been his co-editor of the *American Law Review*, expressed the view that the theory (of possession) which he (Holmes) had stated was the only rational one, and was "much more advanced than Hegel's rot on the subject."

There was an arrogance about Holmes which showed itself in his judgment of his own book. *The Common Law* behind him, he knew that he had done something first-rate – a later book, which his own achievement had made possible, showed, as he said to a friend, that he had "pretty well reconstructed the fish from a bone and a scale." His self-assurance led him to push some of his theories too far in his effort to establish the universality of their application. Without altogether banishing from criminal law the internal touchstone of a guilty mind, he believed that the test of liability there too should be external. Such a general conclusion was without warrant.

Allied with this quality of arrogance was a toughness which made Holmes, on occasion, disregard the feelings of others if they stood in the way of his ambition. He believed in the strong, who were fit to survive, and was not moved by the condition of the weak, who were not. The nature of his aim was to get to the top as quickly as possible within the circle of an intellectual life devoted to the law. He had been "kicked" into the law, Professor Howe says, by his father; but he seems to have stuck to it because his reading was convincing him that it had never been satisfactorily analyzed and described – it was still "a thick fog of details." He disliked practice, except as a case might occasionally reveal the germ of an idea for his research, and had no interest in the conventional and comfortable rewards that success in practice would have achieved. He hated business, but did not sympathize with Lewis Einstein's scorn of Rockefeller, writing him: "I think we



"The most lucid presentation of world history in narrative form that I know."
ARNOLD TOYNBEE

THE RISE OF THE WEST
A History of the Human Community

History as it is seldom written today. "A remarkable *tour de force* . . . history in the old Greek sense of inquiring, investigating." – CRANE BRINTON
"A model of how to tame the infinite."
— G. E. VON GRUNEBAUM

by William H. McNeill

Illustrated $12.50
At your bookstore or from
The University of Chicago Press Chicago and London

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

DISSENT

In the Summer Dissent

The Negro Revolution

These are great and stirring days in America. A social transformation, as vast in scope and at least as significant in morality as the rise of industrial unionism in the 30's, has begun to sweep the country

and

Daniel M. Friedenberg:

A Fabian Program for America

$1.00

DISSENT

509 Fifth Ave., N. Y. 17, N. Y.

SOUTH AFRICA—

Will Racism and Repression Lead to Rebellion?

Why does America fiddle while South Africa burns?

What's behind the Free World refusal to quarantine apartheid?

Read the answers in

SOUTH AFRICAN CRISIS AND U. S. POLICY.

Essential for understanding the growing attack on South Africa at the United Nations.

63 pages, $1 the copy—order from the publisher:

AMERICAN COMMITTEE ON AFRICA

211 E. 43 St., New York 10017

should do justice to those who do big things however little we want to dine with them." Philosophic speculation was what most tempted him; he put everything he had into his research.

He looked back on those twelve years when they were over, and he had been put on the State Supreme Court, and remembered how he had worked alone, and felt around him "a black gulf of solitude," and had learned in his despair to trust his "own unshaken will." That splendid strength of will remained unshaken through his life.

His occasional disregard for the feelings of others was shown, when, three years after he had graduated from the Harvard Law School, Holmes undertook to edit with James Bradley Thayer a new edition of Kent's *Commentaries*. When this was published in 1873, the title page read: "Twelfth Edition, edited by O. W. Holmes, Jr.," not mentioning Thayer as a fellow editor, although Holmes' preface expressed gratitude to the older man. It is not altogether clear what actually occurred. Professor Howe notes that it seems not unlikely that Holmes "was not as sensitive to the interest of Thayer as he might have been."

A second similar episode recalls the first. In January, 1882, Holmes was appointed a Professor of Law by President Eliot, after Louis D. Brandeis, Jr., and Thayer persuaded William F. Weld, Jr., a young man who had recently inherited some three million dollars, to endow a professorship which Holmes would fill on an annual salary of $4,000. His courses for the next two years were indicated in the catalogue. He began teaching in September of 1882. In December of that year Governor Long sent for him, offered him a place on the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts, and indicated that he must accept by three o'clock that afternoon. Holmes, within the time specified, agreed to serve, without consulting President Eliot or any of his associates in the Law School. Since, in a letter to Eliot, Holmes had stipulated that should a judgeship be offered to him he would "not wish to feel bound in honor not to consider it," there was no question that he had a right to accept.

Professor Thayer, who had been active in bringing about Holmes' appointment to Harvard and in persuading Weld to create the endowment, with Holmes in mind, was deeply hurt as we know from an entry in his memorandum book. He noted that the year at the school had only begun; and that the students had been mainly induced to come by Holmes being there. Holmes did not "post at once to see Eliot" – he said no word to anyone for several days, not until after the news had all been published, and then, at a faculty meeting, told the story "in a long, excited, and wholly ineffectual attempt to account for his going. . . . My experience with him in editing Kent, which I had been willing to forget, comes all back again and assures me that this conduct is characteristic – that he is, with all his attractive qualities . . . selfish, vain, thoughtless of others."

Reading this I recalled that when I was his secretary in 1911-1912, Justice Holmes used to emphasize that a man should not be blamed for acting right up to the limit of the law as long as he didn't overstep it. Perhaps his external standards and emphasis on the importance of self-preference, made this action appear to him proper. His ambition had a ruthless quality, and he did not gladly suffer criticism. I am inclined to think that his "toughness" was seldom noticeable after he had reached the court. The more active life of a judge – at least as he conceived it – in which he would see his thinking become effective in action, satisfied him deeply, and must have done much to remove the acerbity of indifference to the feelings of others. "Academic life," he wrote Felix Frankfurter thirty years later, "is withdrawal from the fight in order to utter smart things that cost you nothing except the thinking them from a cloister. . . . Business . . . often seems mean . . . but it hardens the fibre and I think is more likely to make more of a man of *one who turns it to success*" (my italics). As a judge he had realized the long fruition of his life, which came from weaving his "contribution into the practical system of the law." He had become a closely integrated and complete man.

Coming

Soviet Political Satire

by Gleb Struve

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

FILMS

Gold, Golding, Gilt

For a couple of years there has been talk in film journals about an Italian picture called *Il Posto (The Job)*, the first fiction feature by a young documentary director named Ermanno Olmi. The praise, plus its festival prizes, was enough to make one wary, but the news is good. It arrives with a brassy ironic re-title – *The Sound of Trumpets* – and proves to be a delicate, piercing

The Sound of Trumpets (Janus)
Lord of the Flies (Continental)
Toys in the Attic (United Artists)

work with a quality that is precious in films: it is personal. We feel that it was made by a man, not by a syndicate.

A youth, scarcely 20, comes from a suburb to Milan for a job with an immense corporation and takes the obligatory exam along with other candidates, including a girl. He is shy, sober, awkward; she is somewhat more assured because she is pretty and a girl. They pass, are sent for physical exams, then are assigned jobs in different buildings of the enormous concrete establishment. They meet only rarely. He is an assistant porter at a hall desk. He attends a company New Year's Eve party. A clerk dies in one of the offices. The boy is moved to a rear desk in the office and will work his way up, through the years, to a front desk. Ahead of him, as the film ends, are his life and his death.

In theme there is little new here. The protest against dehumanization has been a steady – and ineffective – note in the Western world ever since Marx sounded the warning against alienation. In films, René Clair and Chaplin repeated it; and there are hints in this picture of the flat, millstone-ground, everyday horror that one finds in the plays of Georg Kaiser and Ernst Toller. Even the poetically synoptic digressions that illustrate some of the older clerks' lives are not blindingly original. The picture's triumph – small but firm – is that it surpasses the demand for mere novelty. It is so strongly felt, so directly built on those strong feelings, that we do not care that we have seen other treatments of the subject, in films and elsewhere. Who wouldn't like to read a good new ode to a skylark? All that matters is the concern and artistry of Olmi's protest.

That is one of the film's most chilling aspects: the protest is Olmi's, not his characters'. The boy and the girl accept the state of things completely: the herd treatment, the company-policy politeness like an airline hostess' smile, the snuggling into a lifelong cubby-hole. It is Olmi who is sad and angry. He sees that the "Detroit" syndrome is especially poignant in Italy, not because Italy has a long tradition of personal freedom (it hasn't) but because it has a long tradition of personality. The company party is the thin rinsing of what was once a full wine barrel. The last sound in the film is not of trumpets; it is the *slickety-whirr, slickety-whirr* of the mimeograph machine.

In his film of *Lord of the Flies*, Peter Brook has chosen to look out of the corner of his eye at William Golding's straightforward allegory. It seems to have been made obliquely, in a kind of hurried, snatched, newsreel way, then patched together later into the best continuous film possible. For this tale of English schoolboy castaways, Brook took his boys to a Caribbean island and, in effect, turned them loose, photographing them when they were seemingly unaware. (Yet the best shot is one that is carefully staged: the entrance of the marching choristers along the edge of the sea.) Brook's approach has been tempered neo-realism: put "real" boys in the "real" situation, let them feel it themselves, don't turn them into actors. Well, he hasn't. Scenes sag heavily because cues are not picked up, lines are emitted rather than spoken. As a result, characters are not defined, drama is not joined, terror is a long time in coming and is mild when it arrives. The chi-chi cinema décor – arty shots of tree-tops, quivering leaves, light on the water – does not indemnify.

In this free-swinging method, some swipes are bound to hit. Some of the savagery towards the end is on the Golding standard. Piggy (Hugh Edwards) tells a story about Camberly – supposedly impromptu – that is funny. James Aubrey, as Ralph, has some good boyishly manly moments. But the core of the book's meaning is lost. The title is only literal; we hear the buzz from the beginning. The key scene between Simon and the pig's head – given voice in the novel through Simon's imagination – is reduced to a series of silent close-ups. The scene is thus made meaningless.

Two additional egregious errors. The producers and director went to great pains to find a location and use a technique which, they hoped, would avert artificiality. Then they recorded the dialogue in such a way that the ear is

How to ARGUE and WIN!

Did you ever come out second best in a discussion . . . see your proposal voted down . . . lose a raise or sale . . . **when all the facts were on your side?**

Don't ever let it happen again!

In his new book, THE ART OF ARGUMENT, Giles St. Aubyn shows you how to nail your opponents' appeals to prejudice and emotion for what they are. You learn how to think clearly . . . arrange your thoughts **logically** . . . present **convincingly**, whether verbally or in writing, formally or informally.

Infinitely more useful for most people than a post-graduate course in logic, St. Aubyn's approach is excitingly easy to master. It is based on situations which arise almost daily in family and business life, in conferences and meetings at church, lodge and PTA groups.

Once you learn to spot "special pleadings" and "emotive terms" in the argument of your adversary, there are very simple ways to overcome them with irrefutable reason.

Learn, too, how to separate facts from empty words in political platforms, newspaper stories, advertisements. How to judge **impartially** the pros and cons of tax reduction, racial equality, cigarette smoking, Medicare. And see how this mastery of logic benefits you in every phase of life!

TRY THIS VITAL NEW APPROACH TO SUCCESS—AT OUR RISK!

Read **The Art of Argument** and put its commonsense principles to use. Rou must find yourself winning support for your every constructive aim, **or simply return the book after 30 days for immediate refund.** You risk nothing! Mail only $2.95 now to

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 792-M
251 W. 19th St. New York 11, N.Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

constantly reminded of a studio; and they smeared on music, by Raymond Leppard, which – in the phoniest Hollywood tradition – predicts what is to come and attempts to raise audience temperature when the scene on screen is tepid.

Toys in the Attic, a dreadful picture, raises two matters worth discussing. It is another example of that occasional phenomenon – the film that exposes the inflated reputation of a play. Lillian Hellman is the most overrated American dramatist of the century because she has chosen serious subjects and has plated a serious-seeming covering over generally hokey melodrama. Here she has no subject. None. She has grasped at several en route: repressed incest, true love despised, persistent immaturity, race prejudice, the grind of greed, and others. But her grasp has been weak as they floated by and they do not save her play from drowning. Often (*The Children's Hour, The Little Foxes, Watch on the Rhine*) the underpinning of 19th-Century Sardoodledom has compensated theatrically for her pretensions to depth. But here the device of Julian's sudden wealth and sudden collapse is simply too familiar to affect us. All writers who have used that device since *Juno and the Paycock* ought to have left it alone.

Second, the performance of the two sisters, by Geraldine Page and Wendy Hiller, make an illuminating comparison. Miss Page, an actress of amply demonstrated talent, is one of the best practitioners of the Actors Studio Method. One can see how she has delved into "life logic," examined motives, summoned sense memory – all to some good. The very intensity of her devotion to the Method, of her preparations, has some effect despite her mouth-twistings, despite her "relating" to objects (halting a line and changing its inflection as she picks up a shopping bag or a loving cup). Truth is her watchword; but next to Miss Hiller she looks like the archetype of Artificiality. For Miss Hiller is – to the audience, at least – a disciple of no method. Blessed with a radiance that in itself gives her beauty and a voice that only has to be heard to compel, Miss Hiller acts with a simplicity of technique, a non-exaltation of it, a closeness to her subject that allows no cracks to gleam between her and the character. Miss Page is a gifted, well-trained performer obviously responding to her trainer – herself. Miss Hiller's acting is a perfect infusion of the character with the appropriate elements of her own voice, personality, being. Her performance is at least as carefully planned as Miss Page's, yet not ostentatiously so. Not to try to assess who has "more" talent, I think the difference is one of sequence: Miss Page wants you to admire Miss Page playing Carrie with emotional truth. Miss Hiller wants you to be moved by Anna; then, if you care to realize who made the magic, she would be pleased.

The casting of Dean Martin, the night-club singer and comic, as Julian, is an offense to Miss Page, Miss Hiller, and us.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

BERGMAN · FELLINI
ANTONIONI · RENOIR
ON 16 MM FILM
WRITE FOR 1963-1964 CATALOGUE
JANUS FILMS LIBRARY · DEPT NR
The WELLINGTON, 55 St. at 7th Ave. · N.Y. 19, N.Y.

RECORDS

Benjamin Britten's "War Requiem"

When Britten's *War Requiem* was performed for the first time at the consecration of the new Coventry Cathedral in May 1962, the occasion received the kind and amount of attention in the press, here as well as in England, that in the past has been given to the premiére of a major work of Stravinsky; and the English reviews gave the impression that Britten's new piece was an achievement of that magnitude. One knew that English reviewers overestimated English composers; but Britten's impressive talent was something Americans had had opportunities to confirm for themselves. One knew also that the talent was an extraordinarily resourceful craftsmanship which could operate in the place of, and in the guise of, creativity, producing for *The Rape of Lucretia* years ago a hubbub that was a mere going through the motions of musical activity, and for the more recent *The Turn of the Screw* "modern"-style vocal and instrumental sounds with no expressive relation to the words and action and no attractiveness or interest in themselves. But one knew on the other hand that for *Peter Grimes* and *Albert Herring* he had applied himself to the task of real invention for the situation, sometimes with brilliantly successful results; and that for *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, given by the New York City Opera last spring, he had again provided music which established the atmosphere of the scenes and heightened the expressiveness of the words.

These were reasons for the interest with which I began to listen to the performance of the *War Requiem* conducted by Britten himself on London A-4255 and OSA-1255, and for my excitement when I heard the superbly effective invention for the opening – the powerful two-note phrases of the orchestra to which the chorus sang "*Requiem aeternam dona eis.*" It seemed that the occasion had impelled Britten to unusual effort, with results which the English reviewers had been right in pronouncing the best he had ever achieved. But then the boys' chorus entered with writing for "*Te decet hymnus*" that said nothing at all; and the solo tenor, with writing that did no more for Wilfred Owen's poem *What passing-bells for these who die as cattle.* And thereafter there was the same alternation of now and then a passage of impressively effective writing, and more often a passage that was a mere resourceful craftsman's spinning of notes. As for the performance – with Galina Vishnevskaya, Peter Pears, and Fischer-Dieskau, the Bach Choir, London Symphony Orchestra Chorus and Highgate School Choir, the Melos Ensemble and London Symphony – it is excellent except for Vishnevskaya's

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tremulous stridency at the point of her first entrance.

One of Victoria's best-known pieces, the powerfully expressive Motet *O Vos Omnes,* and three similar pieces – *Ave Maria, O Regem Caeli* and *Duo Seraphim* – are sung well by the Schola du Grand Scholasticat des Pères du Saint-Esprit du Chevilly under R. P. L. Deiss' direction, on Music Guild M-41 and S-41. On the reverse sides the beautifully wrought *Missa Quarti Toni* is sung well by the Chorale Sant-Jordi de Barcelone under O. Martrell's direction.

A press build-up of George Szell, including articles in the news magazines and elsewhere that are essentially publicity stories with built-in critical praise, is going on that is similar to the one of Leonard Bernstein that preceded his appointment to the New York Philharmonic; and it gives credibility to the rumor that Szell will be taking over the Philharmonic in a couple of years. The Bernstein build-up included an article in *Harper's* by Harold Schonberg, who more recently has been pointing out the Bernstein limitations and deficiencies that were just as evident then; and if Szell does become conductor of the Philharmonic we may begin to read about the limitations and deficiencies of his that are evident today. Szell's strength, like Reiner's, is technical, revealing itself in the precision and beautiful tone with which he can get an orchestra to play; his weakness, like Reiner's, is musical, revealing itself in defects in the pacing and shaping of the work the orchestra is playing. The strength has made the Cleveland Orchestra a superb instrument; but in the performance of Debussy's *La Mer* on Epic LC-3863 and BC-1263 it doesn't play with the sensitive execution and ear-ravishing tone of the London Philharmonia in the performance of this work conducted by Giulini on Angel 35977 (mono). Szell's weakness has produced his stiff, insensitive, hard-driven performances of the German classical repertory from Haydn through Schubert; but he has operated effectively with modern works – for example in the Strauss *Don Quixote* on Epic LC-3786 and BC-1135; and his treatment of much of the first movement of *La Mer* is quite good. But the other two movements haven't the sensitive nuances of inflection and color that are heard in Giulini's performance; and each of the two, approaching its conclusion, is suddenly whipped up by Szell to a frenzied rush in which it loses its sense and effect. From what I have said it is clear that Giulini's performance is a good one; and it is reproduced more distinctly than any other I have heard. But Giulini doesn't give the work the unfailing rightness of flow and sonority that it has in Toscanini's performance and in Cantelli's with the Philharmonia, more beautifully recorded than Toscanini's, on HMV ALP-1228. Giulini's performances of Debussy's *Nuages* and *Fêtes,* on the reverse side of the Angel record, also are good, but again not the absolute perfection offered by Cantelli's performance on BLP-1089 – the perfection that includes the more animated flow of *Nuages,* the better sound of the distant muted trumpets in the procession of *Fêtes.* (The Cantelli records are obtainable from S. H. March, 1731 Chestnut Street, Philadelphia.)

Mozart doesn't command attention with his Flute Concerto K.313, on Columbia ML-5851 and MS-6451; but one of the greats of the Philadelphia Orchestra, William Kincaid, does with the unique flute tone that is a little less silvery than I remember and the distinguished phrasing that is unchanged. The reverse side has the engaging Bassoon Concerto K.191 with the excellent playing of Bernard Garfield. And on ML-5852 and MS-6452 John de Lancie's sensitively phrased playing imparts interest to the Oboe Concerto K.314; but Anthony Gigliotti plays the poignantly lovely phrases of the Clarinet Concerto K.622 without the inflection they should receive.

B. H. Haggin

Notes on Contributors

Phil Hirsch *is a free lance Washington journalist.* Alastair Burnet, *formerly with* The Economist, *now works for Independent Television.* Reed Whittemore's *newest book is* The Fascination of the Abomination. John Mander *is a British journalist.* Francis Biddle, *former Attorney General of the United States, has recently published the second volume of his reminiscences,* In Brief Authority.

How Students, Teachers And Military Personnel May Save On Subscriptions To The New Republic

Now is the time to enter your subscriptions, and to assure the regular delivery of *The New Republic* to your school or military address.

There is a special reason for doing so now. As of October 1, rates for students, teachers, and military personnel will increase.

By entering your subscription *now,* you may save $1.50 if you subscribe for a full year, or $1.25 on a nine month school year subscription.

THE NEW REPUBLIC
1244 19th Street, N.W.
Washington, D. C.

Yes, please enter my educational rate subscription at the old rates:

One year at $5.00 .....
(A saving of $1.50 over the new rates)

Nine months at $3.75 .....
(A saving of $1.25 over the new rate)

Name .....

Address .....

School Affiliation .....

Starting Date .....

Payment enclosed.... Bill me....

(This offer good through September 1963)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

333 EUROPEAN HOTELS

140 cities, 19 countries covered in handy list of excellent, inexpensive hotels. Prices, Addresses.

BON VOYAGE $1.
Box 24684NR
Los Angeles 24, Calif.

"WILL FORMS"
Two Will Forms and Book on Wills
$1.00 Complete
National Forms, Box 48313NR
Los Angeles 48, Calif.

HEX—a game of strategy; now available in the U.S.; engage your foe in a subtle contest of wit; an instrument for the peaceful resolution of conflict. $1.50
THE QUORUM OF THE ETERNAL VERITIES
P.O. Box 1098 New York 10001, New York

ESPERANTO, THE INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE
"Teach Yourself" Kit $4
correspondence course $6, information free:
Young Esperantists of North America
30 Avenue B
New York 9, New York

SPECIAL 300' correspondence tapes. 80c postpaid. Communications Exchange Service, Box 733, Route 2, Chester, Virginia.

SILENCE THOSE AGGRESSIVE HUCKSTERS! Minimize commercial brain-washing! Silence commercials with simple device. Illustrated "do-it-yourself" instructions plus safety resistor, 25c; complete kit, including switch wire and safety resistor, $1.50.
THE SILENCER
P.O. Box 106
Berkeley 1, California

ECHO

invites you to attend its
1963 Convention
at the Drake Hotel
(Spruce & 14th Sts.)
in Philadelphia on
August 31 and September 1

•

THEME:
HOMOSEXUALITY—TIME FOR REAPPRAISAL

Speakers include
DR. WARDELL POMEROY
Director of Field Research of the Kinsey Institute
DR. ALBERT ELLIS
Psychologist and Author

•

For further information contact
ECHO
Room 229
34 South 17th Street
Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Correspondence

The New Republic *welcomes communications in regard to subjects of current interest. Those of 300 words or less are most suitable for publication.*

The Education Debate

Sirs:

I find Alexander Welsh's article "In Defense of the Public School" (June 29) totally inadequate to the debate *The New Republic* has been conducting on American education. He sidesteps the specific religious question in order to discuss private schooling in general, and then makes three points:

First, public schools are good because they have produced some good students. Of course, these specific individuals might have come from an exceptional public school, or might have had an exceptional teacher somewhere along the line, or might have achieved success in spite of their school. The real question is whether changing the form of American education by greatly enlarging the private school sector would be compatible with a democratic society, and to a lesser degree, whether this would raise the over-all quality of education.

Welsh's second point is that private schools are primarily a status symbol for the rich and would-be rich. If the nation had an arrangement, however, under which any parent could send his child to any private school tuition-free (by deducting tuition from the amount he pays in income tax, or by filling out an IBM card when he enrolls to have the government pay the bill, as is now partially done for schools under the "impacted areas" law), would the average parent still think that the nearest public school was the "obvious" choice? A large choice of schools would develop: some stressing sports, some vocational training, some the humanities, some science. We could enjoy all the benefits which are said to abound in European schools, without the anti-democratic effect of the eleven-plus "weeding out" examinations. There would probably be built-in pressures to eliminate the poor schools as they experienced dwindling enrollments. There seems no reason to assume that, given the opportunity, the vast majority of parents would not select their children's schools with the same forethought and consideration that they now use when selecting their clothing or medical care.

Welsh's third point is that public schools democratize learning and unify the community. What is the "democratization of learning"? Is it the provision of free education for all? A voucher or tax credit arrangement would do the same – with the added advantage of flexibility: a single school would no longer have to restrict itself to majority tastes, but could tailor itself to the tastes of minorities or even individuals. The science whiz-kid or the humanities genius, the socially maladjusted and the slow learner all could receive the proper schooling. Or does "democratization of learning" mean that all children are taught the same way, regardless of their interests or abilities – or in some cases, regardless of the truth, as in Tennessee in the 1920's. This seems more likely to produce endless identical twins than to foster the diversity an industrial society requires to offset organizational pressures for conformity. Is Welsh's ideal a free, democratic society, or a faceless collective? And what of the school's value in unifying the community – by providing a single institution the community takes pride in? This concept is misleading. When you step down from the abstract, you notice that the public schools of a community are rarely a "single institution," but rather tens or hundreds of different institutions, each of which has a unifying effect upon *its* parents, but not on the community as a whole. A system of private schools would be just as unifying (or disunifying) as the present system.

What, then, is the case for the government-operated, centrally directed school system in a free, democratic society? The fact that it is traditional?

Joe M. Cobb
Chicago, Ill.

In my parents' white West Philadelphia neighborhood is a public elementary school 98 percent of whose students are Negro. The usual de facto segregation in Northern cities does not explain this almost completely colored school, for a few years ago the school district was deliberately distorted to include equal

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

areas of white and Negro neighborhoods. Unfortunately, this attempt at integration proved a failure as white Catholic parents began sending their children to parochial schools, Jews moved to predominantly Jewish neighborhoods, and Protestants with school-age children either moved to all-white suburbs or sent their children to private schools. The vacated homes were filled by Catholics moving from neighborhoods being settled by Negroes. As a result the only schools in this section of Philadelphia are almost as segregated as any in the South – three all-white parochial schools and one almost all-Negro public school.

I believe this situation will become standard in Northern cities if substantial financial aid is given all schools. All-white Jewish, Catholic, Unitarian, Quaker, Episcopalian schools and all-black public or Baptist or Muslim will produce their own version of segregation. Moreover, since parents like to live near schools, a kind of voluntary religious segregation will result. . . .

When I was attending Catholic schools in Philadelphia, about half my Catholic friends went to public school. The public school these boys attended was decidedly second rate while many of the Catholic schools were "private," high-tuition schools, considered the elite of the Catholic school system. Nevertheless I'm sure the public school boys have turned out to be much more of a credit to a democratic society. They were uniformly more tolerant of minority ideas, more committed to the habit of skeptical inquiry, and less inclined to seek answers by appeal to rigid authoritarianism. As men they have produced many more scientists, engineers, and doctors than my Catholic school classmates.

These boys influenced me, I believe, for the good, but the point is they went to public school only because it was a little cheaper and easier for their parents. In a situation where all schools would essentially be free practically all of them would have gone to parochial school and one of my few contacts with a world outside Catholic dogma would not have existed.

I don't think the US government should encourage cultural and intellectual segregation with financial support nor do I think it the function of a liberal magazine to promote such a cause.

Ernest Pittelli
Brookline, Mass.

SIXTH ANNUAL BUCKS COUNTY WORLD PEACE FAIR

Saturday, August 24, 1-8 pm (rain or shine) George School, Rt. 413, Newton, Pennsylvania. Stimulating speakers, cracker barrel discussions, booths and exhibits of over 50 organizations, children's program, snacks, dinner and entertainment.

Remarkable guidebook for "holiday painters" proves

IF YOU CAN COPY THIS, YOU CAN PAINT IN OILS!

New—without costly correspondence courses or over-elaborate kits—you can master the principles and techniques of oil painting . . . know the joy of artistic self-expression . . . and all at your own speed, in your own spare time. Amazingly practical hardcover book, THE HOLIDAY PAINTER, by celebrated French critic-artist, Jean Martin-Barbaz, takes you step-by-step from fundamentals of drawing, composition, color to handling and framing of finished canvases. Covers still life, landscape, seascape, flowers, figures, portraits, nudes, genre painting. Complete guide to materials and tools needed, methods and conditions of working, priming and preparation, brushwork, choosing and mixing colors, applying paints, glazing, etc. If you can draw at all, you can be painting by Labor Day!

FAST PROGRESS GUARANTEED!

Illustrated **ORDER NOW!**

THE HOLIDAY PAINTER

by J. Martin-Barbaz

You must be delighted with the pleasure and rapid progress you enjoy, or simply return book for full refund. Only $3.95 postpaid.

EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 798-M
251 West 19th Street, New York 11, N. Y.

Any Book

Out-of-print books located—no matter how old or long out-of-print. Name the book—we'll find it for you! (Title alone is sufficient.) All authors, subjects. Fiction, nonfiction. No obligation.

Books-On-File
Dept. NEW Union City, N. J.

EXPERIMENT WITH "SLEEP-LEARNING"
Self-hypnosis. Use your phonograph, recorder. Fascinating, educational. Details free.
Sleep-Learning Research Association
Box 24-NR Olympia, Washington

CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE FOLK PRINTS
Authenticated by Folkcraft Center of Japan
Excellent for collectors, gifts, framing, etc.
Limited editions. $6.00-$7.50
Illustrated catalogue, airmail, $1.00 (creditable against first order)
ADACHI INSTITUTE
CPO BOX 362
TOKYO, JAPAN

"BURY GOLDWATER"
handsome bumper sticker
$1 each; three for $2; ten for $5
801 Security Building
Rosewell, New Mexico

FREE, PROMPT SEARCH locates hard to find books. Write wants:
CAMBRIDGE BOOK SERVICE
Box 18R Cambridge 40, Mass.

INTERESTED IN ARCHAEOLOGY? College president wanted. New school. Exceptional opportunity qualified person. Box 56, Crown Point, New York.

BRITISH SHOES FOR GENTLEMEN at a fraction of their American retail price! $10.95 includes duty and import charges. Delivery in ten days from receipt of order. Money back guarantee. Write for free illustrated catalogue. Steven Williams, Jr., Ltd., 40 Chatham Road, Short Hills, New Jersey.

L'EXPRESS

The leading liberal newspaper in France today.
Send 25c for your sample copy.
Howard Publications
7th floor
132 West 43rd Street
New York 36, N.Y.

HAVE YOU OUTGROWN GODS, SAVIORS AND SUPERNATURALISM?

Is all your concern for people? Then you're a HUMANIST! Welcome to AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION; local chapters, publications. Send $1 for three-month trial membership ($5 for year):
AMERICAN HUMANIST ASSOCIATION
Dept. NR, Yellow Springs, Ohio

Printed by National Publishing Co.
301 N St., N.E., Washington 2, D. C.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Here, in two oversize volumes, the world's outstanding psychologists, philosophers, novelists, poets, and mystics delve into the mind and motives of man: his struggles with others, and with himself; his perceptions, myths, and dreams; his encounters with self-discovery, love, hate, and sex; his fears and his guilt.

In **THE WORLD OF PSYCHOLOGY,** you will find theories and case studies by leading psychologists—such as Freud, Jung, Fromm, and Pavlov—whose works have changed the course of twentieth century thought, standing beside their counterparts in classical philosophy. Moreover, each great theme is then exemplified by a relevant piece of fiction which portrays the problem in its lived immediacy. In this juxtaposition of theory, philosophy, and literature the condition of man is meaningfully and memorably described.

The retail price of this valuable and entertaining reference work is $17.50. Yet you may have it *without charge,* as a demonstration of the many benefits of membership in The Book Find Club.

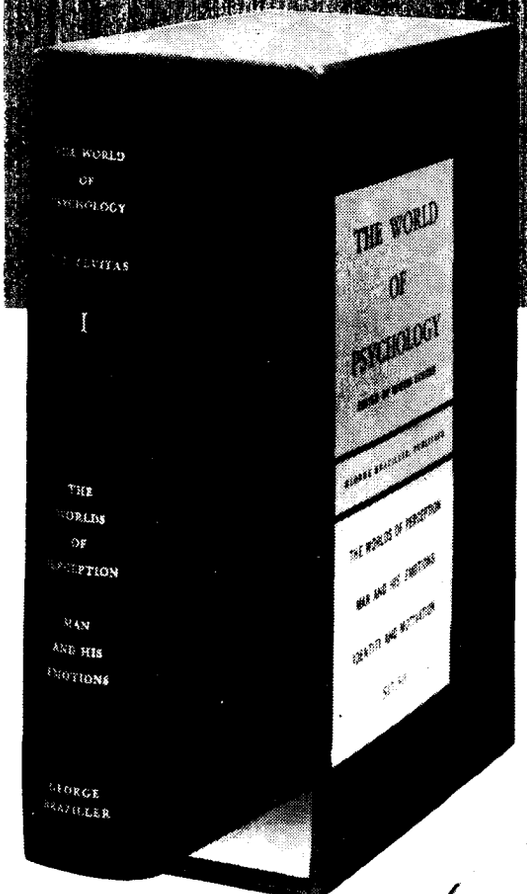
THE WORLD OF PSYCHOLOGY

PARTIAL CONTENTS

THE WORLDS OF PERCEPTION ■ The World of the Child: *Piaget • Rousseau • Merrill* ■ The World As We See It and the World As It Is: *Burton • Goodman • Carroll • Hardy* ■ The Worlds of the Blind and the Deaf: *James • Twersky • Swift • McCullers* ■ The Worlds of Smell and Taste: *Wayne and Cinco • Huysmans • Proust • O. Henry* ■ The Sixth Sense: *Aristotle, Price • Defoe* ■ and many others

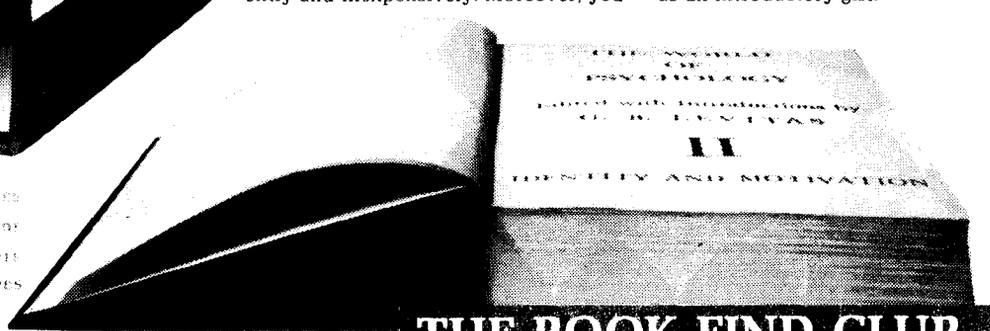
MAN AND HIS EMOTIONS ■ The Expression of Emotions: *Jones • Freud, Klineberg • Malinowski • Blake • Greene • Lawrence • Twain* ■ Schizophrenia and Manic-Depressive Psychoses: *Erikson • Kraepelin • Aiken* ■ Hysteria and Anxiety Neuroses: *Strecker • Fromm • Poe • Dreiser* ■ Obsessions and Compulsions: *Freud, Nelson • Dostoevski* ■ and many others

IDENTITY AND MOTIVATION ■ The Pawn of Fate: *Plato • Descartes, Pavlov • Freud • Kafka • Yeats* ■ The Master of Fate: *Leibniz • Nietzsche • Vaihinger • Sartre* ■ The Power-Seeker and the Security-Seeker: *Adler, Wolfenstein • Huxley* ■ The Guilt-Ridden: *St. Augustine • Reik • Jones, Roth* ■ The Alienated: *Mead • Sartre • Ginsberg • James* ■ The Religious Man: *St. Augustine • St. John of the Cross • Jung • de Unamuno* ■ The Whole Man: *Mill • Maslow • Emerson • Montague* ■ and many others



RETAIL $17.50 FREE

The important new 2-volume set **THE WORLD OF PSYCHOLOGY** and the outstanding books listed below are among the recent selections that the Book Find Club has offered its members at substantial savings. You will recognize them as works of current interest and lasting value—solid, readable books that range from social science to the fine arts. ■ **CONVENIENCE.** Membership in the Book Find Club makes it possible for you to shop for the books you want in the comfort of your own home—enabling you to build your library conveniently and inexpensively. Moreover, you need choose **only** the books you want. ■ **AVERAGE SAVINGS OF 40%.** As a member you will regularly enjoy savings of 40% on the books you take. Furthermore, on certain choices your savings will reach and even exceed 50%. ■ **BONUS BOOKS.** When your introductory agreement has been completed, you will be entitled to a free bonus book of your own choosing after every third selection that you take. ■ Why not take advantage of this extraordinary offer today? And receive **THE WORLD OF PSYCHOLOGY** free as an introductory gift.



- 2 volumes
- 90 outstanding selections
- Over 80 foremost writers
- 1,116 pages

BEGIN MEMBERSHIP WITH ONE OF THESE OUTSTANDING SELECTIONS

Eichmann in Jerusalem: *A Report on the Banality of Evil,* Hannah Arendt; and **Love Declared:** *Essays on the Myths of Love,* Denis de Rougemont. Combined retail price $10.00.....Member's price $5.95

This Kind of War, T. R. Fehrenbach. Retail $10.00.....Member's price $6.50

Freedom in the Western World, Herbert J. Muller. Retail $8.50 .....Member's price $5.95

The Feminine Mystique, Betty Friedan. Retail $5.95.....Member's price $4.95

Identity and Anxiety: *Survival of the Person in Mass Society.* Including Mead, Orwell, Richards, Gorer, Howe, Jaspers, Mills, and many others. Retail $7.50 .....Member's price $4.95

The City in History, Lewis Mumford. Retail $11.50.....Member's price $6.95

The Other Side of The River: *Red China Today,* Edgar Snow. Retail $10.00 .....Member's price $6.95

The Basic Writings of Bertrand Russell, Retail $10.00.....Member's price $5.95

The Children of Sanchez, Oscar Lewis. Retail $7.50.....Member's price $5.50

The Paper Economy, David T. Bazelon. Retail $6.95.....Member's price $5.95

THE BOOK FIND CLUB, INC.

215 Park Avenue South, New York 3, N. Y.

You may enroll and send me THE WORLD OF PSYCHOLOGY free, with my first selection at the special member's price (plus postage and handling.) I agree to buy four additional selections or alternates in the next 12 months, from the wide range of books that will be made available to me at substantial savings. When I do not want the current selection—or prefer to order another book—I may do so on the convenient form provided for this purpose. I may cancel my membership at any time after purchasing the four additional books.

First Selection_____

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss
Address.....

Please print full name

City.....Zone.....State B63-79-1

(Same offer and prices in Canada. 105 Bond St., Toronto 2, Ont.)

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED